




# MAHATMA GANDHI

*a chronology*



Besides listing the main events in the personal and public life of Gandhiji, this chronology refers to his utterances commenting on the events or interpreting his actions. These references are given under respective dates and in direct or indirect form as found convenient. Where specific dates are not available, the month and the year has been mentioned. The volume will, it is hoped, prove useful and of interest to research workers and laymen alike.

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# MAHATMA GANDHI

## A CHRONOLOGY

*Compiled By*  
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## PREFACE

This Chronology lists the events in the personal and public life of Mahatma Gandhi. He is referred to as Gandhi up to the time of his arrival in India back from South Africa in 1915 and Gandhiji thereafter.

The chronology has been compiled by Shri K. P. Goswami of the office of the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi,

In ascertaining and furnishing the date of each item, discretion has been used where different sources give different dates. Where the specific date is not available, the year or month has been mentioned

Wherever possible, the interpretation of actions and events has been put in Gandhiji's own words, in direct or indirect form as found convenient.

For certain eventful periods in South Africa or in England, or during active movements in India, the treatment has been more detailed resulting almost in a day-to-day diary.

Sometimes Gandhiji stayed for prolonged periods in one place but directed the activities of the Congress and other national organizations through correspondence, statements, interviews and writings; the more important of these have been placed in their proper chronological order.

In 1946-47, while touring in Noakhali and Bihar or staying in Delhi, Gandhiji utilized his prayer meetings for expressing the views on current affairs. These utterances have been placed under their respective dates.

The Compiler wishes to acknowledge his debt to the sources mentioned in the bibliography (Appendix I) and specially to the *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* without which this Chronology would have lacked such comprehensiveness and accuracy as it now possesses.

Complete lists with dates of Gandhiji's fasts and his arrests and imprisonments are given in Appendix II and Appendix III, respectively.





## CHRONOLOGY

1869\*

**October 2.** Mohandas, the youngest child of Karamchand Gandhi and Putlibai, born at Porbunder in western India.

1875

Attended a primary school at Porbandar for one year.

1876

Betrothed to Kasturbai.

Joined the Branch School at Rajkot for two years.

Read the play *Sravana Pitribhakti* while in primary school; witnessed another play *Harishchandra*, also; thought "why should not all be truthful like Harishchandra?"

1879

**January 21.** Joined the City Taluka School, Rajkot.

Studied Gujarati standards III and IV till October 2, 1880.

1880

**November 18.** Appeared in the entrance examination of the Kathiawar High School, Rajkot.

**December 1.** Enrolled in the General Register of the Kathiawar High School, Rajkot; admitted to Anglo-Vernacular Standard I.

During the visit of Mr. Giles, Educational Inspector, ignored teacher's prompting to copy from a neighbour's slate.

Passed seven years in this school which was later known as Alfred High School.

1883

Married Kasturbai at the age of 13.

Influenced by friends, started taking meat secretly, as it was forbidden in his family who were Vaishnavas. Soon after, he abjured meat out of his desire not to lie to his parents.

1885

Stole coppers from his servant's pocket money for smoking, but gave up the practice. Stole a little gold from his brother's armlet to clear a debt, but felt ashamed and confessed to his father who pardoned him. From that day, Gandhi noted, "truth-telling became a passion with me".

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\*The figures here and in subsequent pages represent the year of the Christian era.

## 1886

In his sick-bed, 63-year-old Karamchand Gandhi had discussions with Parsi and Muslim friends about their faiths.

Mohandas, while nursing his father, listened to these discussions and developed toleration for all faiths.

Karamchand Gandhi's condition became grave and he began to sink fast. Late one night, shortly after Mohandas had left him, he passed away.

## 1887

Passed Matriculation examination from Ahmedabad Centre.

## 1888

**January 1.** Left High School. Joined Shamaldas College, Bhavnagar.

Found studies difficult and, at the end of first term, returned home.

Family friends suggested law studies in England. Mother did not like the idea of separation. Becharji Swami, who became a Jain monk, came to his help and got him to take three solemn vows. Mohandas vowed not to touch wine, woman and meat. This done, his mother gave her permission.

Eldest son, Harilal, born. Mohandas started with his brother for Bombay, leaving his wife and child. Orthodox class disapproved his going abroad but he refused to listen.

**September 4.** With help and permission of brother, Mohandas sailed from Bombay by *S. S. Clyde*.

**October 27.** Reached Southampton.

**October 28.** Reached London.

**November 6.** Admitted to the Inner Temple.

Arranged to stay as a lodger in an Anglo-Indian family in Western Kensington.

**November 9.** Wrote letter to brother: "...In spite of cold I have no need of meat or liquor which fills my heart with joy and thankfulness." Food given to him did not suit him but he put up with all this.

Started reading newspapers and began to take keen interest in current events.

Found a vegetarian restaurant in Farringdon Street and had a hearty meal. Read Salt's book on vegetarianism and was very much impressed.

## 1889

Kept account of every farthing spent. Decided to reduce cost of living by half. Lived by himself instead of with a family. Walked eight to ten miles a day to save fare. Read books on simple living and began cooking breakfast. Lived on 1s. 3d. a day.

## 1890

**January 13-18.** Took examination for Matriculation.

**January 23-30.** Attended Vegetarian Congress at Ventnor.



**February 19.** Result of Matriculation examination published. He got plucked in Latin.

**June.** Passed the London Matriculation examination in his second attempt. Later in the year, he met two theosophists with whom he read Arnold's *The Song Celestial*. Invited to read the original *Gita* with them. He had never read the *Gita* before and it impressed him immensely. Later, it became the book of his daily reading.

Attended lectures by Dadabhai Naoroji, but spoke to him only once.

**September 19.** Selected to Executive Committee of London Vegetarian Society.

**October.** Attended meetings of Vegetarian Society but took no part in proceedings.

Started taking eggs on Dr. Oldfield's advice but soon gave it up, remembering his vow to his mother.

**November.** Studied the *Bible*; the *New Testament* impressed him. Also read some books on atheism. Attended the funeral of Bradlaugh in the workers' cemetery. But his prejudice against atheism remained.

Was introduced to Madame Blavatsky and Mrs. Besant. Read Mme. Blavatsky's *Secret Doctrine*.

**December 15-20.** Sat for final Bar examination.

### 1891

**January 12.** Passed the examination with ease, but as he had not yet completed his twelve terms he could not be called to the Bar and had to stay on in England till the middle of June.

**January.** Mother died. News withheld from him.

**February 20.** Gave his first speech in a Vegetarian Society meeting.

**February-May.** Wrote a series of ten articles on vegetarianism. The first six on "Indian Vegetarians" appeared in the *Vegetarian* between February 2 and March 14. The next three on "Some Indian Festivals" between March 28 and April 25. The last one, "The Foods of India", in *The Vegetarian Messenger* on May 6.

**March 26.** Became an associate member of London Theosophical Society. Enrolled as an associate member of the Blavatsky Lodge for six months.

**June 10.** Called to the Bar.

**June 11.** Enrolled in the High Court.

**June 12.** Sailed for home by *S. S. Oceania*.

**Junly 5-6.** Reached Bombay by *S.S. Assam* in which all the passengers of *S.S. Oceania* had boarded at Aden. Landed at the jetty in pelting rain. The news of the death of his mother shocked him.

**July 6.** Mohandas was introduced to Raychandbhai whom he regarded as one who influenced him most profoundly.

**November 16.** Applied for enrolment in the Bombay High Court.

### 1892

**May 24.** Permission to start practice as Barrister was announced in *Gazette*. Came to Bombay to start practice in High Court. The first case he took up was of one Manibhai in the Small Causes Court for which he charged Rs. 30 as his fees. He was to cross-examine the plaintiff's witnesses but failed to conduct the case, asked his client to engage another lawyer and

hastened out from the court. In fact he did not go to court again until he went to South Africa.

After six months, Gandhi closed his establishment in Bombay and returned to Rajkot, where he was able, by drafting memorials and petitions, to earn about Rs. 300 a month.

His brother Lakshmidas asked Mohandas to see the Political Agent, E.C.K. (afterwards Sir Charles) Ollivant, to refute a charge of intrigue against Lakshmidas. Mohandas found the official arrogant and was pushed out of the room.

**December.** Appointed companion tutor of the minor Rana Bhavsinghji of Porbandar.

## 1893

Dada Abdulla and Company, a Memon firm of Porbunder that had built up an extensive business in South Africa, needed a barrister for a year to sort out a complicated case. The fee would be £105 with free first class fare both ways and all expenses paid during his stay abroad. Gandhi accepted the offer.

**April.** Set sail for South Africa.

**May.** Reached Durban towards the close of the month.

**June.** Observed that Indians were held in scant respect there. Visited the Durban Court, dressed in frock-coat and turban. The Magistrate, espying a queerly-dressed stranger, ordered him to remove his head-dress. He refused to do so and walked out of the court. Wrote to the Press about the incident, defending the wearing of a turban. The Press described him as an "unwelcome visitor". This incident gave him wide publicity. The turban stayed with him practically until the end of his stay in South Africa.

Abdulla Sheth, his host and employer, was unlettered but was proud of Islam. Gandhi said, "Contact with him gave me a fair amount of practical knowledge of Islam".

A week after his arrival in Durban, he started for Pretoria to explain Abdulla Sheth's case to their lawyer. At Pietermaritzburg station, he was ordered to go into the van compartment of the train although he held a first class ticket. On his refusal, a constable was brought and the Indian stranger was forcibly ejected, his bundles pitched out after him, and, with the train gone, he was left to shiver in the waiting room all night.

When at length he reached the Transvaal, and began his coach journey at Paardeberg seated on the box, the guard, a big Dutchman, wishing to smoke, laid claim to his place, telling him to sit down at his feet. On being refused, he gave a brutal blow on Gandhi's face. But at Standerton the coach was changed and the rest of the journey was accomplished without incident.

Next day he reached Johannesburg at night. He drove to the Grand National Hotel but was refused accommodation. On reaching Pretoria he met a Negro friend who took him to Johnston's Family Hotel where he was accommodated. Later, a baker's wife agreed to have him as a boarder.



## 1893-94

During his stay in Pretoria, Gandhi read about 80 books on religion. He came under the influence of Christianity but refused to embrace it. During this period, Gandhi attended the Bible classes.

Within a week of his arrival there, Gandhi made his first public speech making truthfulness in business his theme. The meeting was called to awaken the Indian residents to a sense of the disabilities they were suffering under. He took up the issue of Indians in regard to first class travel in railways. As a result, an assurance was given that first and second class tickets would be issued to Indians "who were properly dressed." This was a partial victory.

## 1894

**April.** While preparing Dada Abdulla's case, he strove for a compromise. At last Tyeb Sheth agreed. An arbitrator was appointed, the case was argued before him, and Dada Abdulla won.

At the close of one year he was again in Durban intending to leave speedily for India. At a social gathering to bid him farewell, he saw the *Natal Mercury* and discovered that Government was about to introduce a Bill to disfranchise the Indians.

**May 22.** At a meeting of the leading Indian merchants, Gandhi proposed the formation of a permanent organization to watch the interest of the Indians and to oppose the colour bar against them.

## 1894

**June 25.** At the residence of Sheth Abdulla, with Sheth Haji Muhammad, foremost Indian leader of Natal in the chair, a meeting of Indians was held and it was resolved to offer opposition to the Franchise Bill. Gandhi outlined his plan.

**July 5.** Entered into correspondence with Dadabhai Naoroji and requested him to help the cause of Indian residents in South Africa.

**July 7.** But all this failed to stop the Bill which was passed. Gandhi advised the people to send a petition to the Pretorial Colonial Secretary. It was forwarded to Lord Ripon. The Bill failed to receive Royal assent and was withdrawn. But shortly afterwards another Bill was introduced and Indians of Natal were disfranchised.

**August 22.** Founded Natal Indian Congress to fight against colour prejudice; took up secretaryship of the organization.

**September 3.** Admitted to Natal Supreme Court despite opposition by Natal Law Society.

Read Sale's translation of the *Koran*.

**December 19.** Gandhi's "open letter" to members of the Legislative Council and Assembly of Natal was published.

## 1895

**June 17.** Balasundaram's case brought Gandhi into touch with the indentured Indians.

- August 11.** Sent a long petition to Lord Chamberlain in London protesting against proposed £ 3 Poll Tax imposed on Indian labour and requested Lord Elgin, Viceroy of India, to look into it and stop immigration of more Indian labour to South Africa.
- August 29.** An Indian deputation led by Dadabhai Naoroji waited on the new Colonial Secretary in London in connection with the proposed Natal Franchise Bill.
- September 13.** Lord Chamberlain informed Natal Government that Her Majesty the Queen had withheld assent to the Bill.
- December 12.** Gandhi's appeal to *Every Briton in South Africa*, issued as a pamphlet, was eulogised by the *Natal Mercury* for its "great merit and moderation".

## 1896

- March 3.** The new Franchise Bill was gazetted.
- April 27.** Indian community submitted a memorial to the Speaker and members of Legislative Assembly of Natal setting forth objections to the Bill.
- May 24.** Sent a letter to the Prime Minister, Sir John Robinson, challenging his remarks regarding Natal Indian Congress being a "secret body".
- June 5.** Left Durban for India on board the *S.S. Pingola* which headed for Calcutta.
- July 4.** Reached Calcutta. Departed for Bombay *via* Allahabad. Missed his train at Allahabad, stayed there for the day and interviewed Mr. Chesney, Editor of *The Pioneer*. This interview, he wrote, "laid the foundation of the series of incidents which ultimately led to my being lynched in Natal".
- July 9.** Reached Rajkot.  
Joined the Sanitary Visitors' Committee at Rajkot on the outbreak of plague in Bombay.
- August 14.** Published the Green Pamphlet, regarding the grievances of the British Indians in South Africa.
- August 17.** Left Rajkot for Bombay.
- August 19.** Met Ranade, Badruddin Tyabji and Pherozeshah Mehta, in Bombay.
- September 14.** Reuter's cable from London to Durban released misleading report about the contents of the Green Pamphlet.
- September 16.** Europeans of Durban formed a European Protection Association, incited by the summary of Reuter's cable in the Natal papers.
- September 26.** Addressed public meeting, presided over by Pherozeshah Mehta, in Bombay.
- September 29.** Bombay meeting protested against ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa and decided to petition the Secretary of State for India for redress.
- October 11.** Left Bombay for Madras *via* Poona.
- October 12.** Stayed for the day in Poona; met Gokhale. Lokamanya Tilak and Dr. Bhandarkar.
- October 14.** Arrived at Madras.
- October 26.** Addressed public meeting at Pachhiyappa College Hall, Madras.



- October 31.** Reached Calcutta via Nagpur. Met Surendranath Banerjea and other leaders.
- November 12.** Received cable from Dada Abdulla from Durban, asking him to return to Natal as Volksraad had recommended that Indians should be forced to reside in Locations.
- November 13.** Addressed letter to *The Englishman* on the problem of Indians in South Africa.
- November 16.** At Poona, addressed public meeting under the auspices of the Sarvajanik Sabha.
- November 26.** Mass meeting of Durban Europeans under the Mayor's chairmanship condemned Asiatic immigration. Audience hissed at mention of Gandhi's name. Colonial Patriotic Union set up.
- November 30.** Sent a telegram to the Viceroy at Calcutta, drawing attention to the Transvaal Government's decision to force Indians to live in Locations. Left Bombay for South Africa by *S.S. Courland* along with wife and two sons.
- December 18.** Ships *Courland* and *Naderi*, carrying Indian passengers, reached Durban.
- December 19.** Natal Government published notification declaring Bombay an infected port in view of plague in some parts of the Bombay Province. Ships put under five days' quarantine, which period was extended from time to time till January 11, 1897.
- December 25.** Gandhi addressed ship-mates, at a Christmas Day gathering, on Western civilization. Natal newspapers charged him later with "indulging in animated condemnation of Natal Whites" and "with desire to swamp Natal with Indians".

## 1897

- January 13.** Interviewed, on board the *S. S. Courland*, by the *Natal Advertiser*. Landed at 5 p.m. and was assaulted by a section of Durban mob, but escaped serious harm through the intervention of Mrs. Alexander, the Police Superintendent's wife. Besieged later in Parsi Rustomji's house; was rescued by Police Superintendent Alexander.
- January 14.** Natal Government reported incident to Secretary of State for the Colonies, and blamed Gandhi for having landed at an inopportune time under bad advice.
- January 20.** Interviewed by Attorney-General, Gandhi declined to have his assailants prosecuted and gave written expression to his wish that the matter be dropped.
- January 22.** Wrote personal letters of thanks and sent gifts to Mr. and Mrs. Alexander for their help when attacked by the mob.
- January 28.** Sent cable to Dadabhai Naoroji, Hunter and Bhownaggee reporting landing incidents.
- January 29.** Addressed to them letters in confirmation of cable, giving details.
- February 2, 3, 4.** Addressed letters to the Press appealing for aid to Indian Famine Relief Fund and issued circulars in English and some Indian languages for the purpose.
- February 6-** Appealed to the clergymen of Durban for rallying support or Famine relief.



- March 26.** Presented to the Natal legislatures petitions against anti-Indian Bills pending before them.
- May 7.** Informed Chairman of Central Famine Relief Committee, Calcutta, of the collection by Natal Indians of £1,539-1-9 for famine relief.
- June 9.** Cabled Hunter regarding the enactment of the Quarantine, Dealer's Licences, Immigration Restriction and Uncovenanted Indians Protection Bills.
- July 2.** Petitioned Mr. Chamberlain regarding the four anti-Indian measures.
- July 10.** Addressed circular letter to public men in Britain and India regarding the discriminatory laws.
- September 11.** Appeared in defence of Indians charged with being prohibited immigrants, and had them discharged.
- September 14.** Indian hospital opened in Durban with Parsi Rustomji's munificence and under Dr. Booth's supervision, in which, later, Gandhi served for two hours a day as assistant.

## 1898

- February 28.** Wrote to the British Agent at Pretoria, informing him of the Transvaal Indians' intention to file Test Case in regard to Law 3 of 1885.
- March 2.** Appeared in the Somnath Maharaj's case for a retail licence in respect of trading premises.
- August 8.** The Transvaal High Court ruled in Test Case that no distinction could be made between places of residence and business premises, and that Indians must reside as well as trade only in Locations specified by Government.
- September 14.** Gandhi pleaded unsuccessfully in Dada Osman's case before Durban Town Council against refusal of trading licences to Indians on racial grounds.
- November 3.** Cabled Colonial Secretary protesting against Visitors' and Embarkation Fees imposed under the Immigration Act.
- November 19.** Locations Notice published in *Government Gazette*.
- November 28.** Gandhi represented to Indian National Congress about serious financial loss from enforcement of the Locations order.
- November 29.** Participated in inaugural ceremony of the International Printing Press in Durban set up at his suggestion.
- December 31.** Drew up petition to Secretary of State for Colonies regarding Dealers' Licences Act, 1897.

## 1899

- January 11.** Forwarded to Natal Governor Indian petition regarding licences.
- January 21.** Addressed to the Press and public in India general letter, calling for urgent attention to Indian grievances regarding licences.
- January 22.** Sought, by petition, Viceroy's intervention in regard to licensing law.
- March 20.** Contributed to *The Times of India* a special article on plague panic in Natal, the first of a series by him on the position of Indians in South Africa.

- April 25.** The Transvaal Government ordered Asiatics to move to the Locations before July 1.
- September 9.** Cabled Colonial Secretary for facilities to Indians to leave the Transvaal, in view of imminence of British-Boer hostilities.
- October 17.** Meeting of English-speaking Indians decided to offer Indians' services to Natal Government on the outbreak of Boer War. Gandhi had a medical check-up by Dr. Prince and was found fit for service in ambulance work.
- October 19.** Communicated Indian offer to Government, forwarding list of volunteers headed by himself.
- October 23.** Indian offer welcomed by Government who indicated their willingness to avail of it on suitable occasions.
- December 4.** Informed Colonial Secretary of readiness to leave for front at a moment's notice, regretted Government's tardiness in accepting offer and sent further names of volunteers.
- December 14.** Left for the front with Ambulance Corps.
- December 15.** Corps reached Chieveley and was ordered to field hospital.
- December 17.** Corps left for Eastcourt.
- December 19.** Corps disbanded temporarily.

### 1906

- January.** Gandhi informed authorities of Indians' readiness for further ambulance work.
- January 7.** Indian Ambulance Corps reformed and stationed at Eastcourt.
- January 21.** Corps in action at Spion Kop; carried wounded to base under fire.
- January 28.** Corps again disbanded about this time after three weeks' service.
- March 1.** Gandhi sent message of congratulations to General Buller on relief of Ladysmith.
- March 14.** Addressed public meeting of Indians and Europeans held to felicitate British Generals on victory in Boer War.
- April 20, 24.** Addressed personal letters forwarding presents to leaders and men of Ambulance Corps.
- May 21.** Conveyed to Queen Victoria Indians' felicitations on her birthday.
- July 30.** Appealed through Press for funds for relief of famine in India.
- August 14.** Informed Colonial Secretary of having forwarded to Turkish Ambassador in London the Indians' address of felicitations to the Sultan of Turkey on silver jubilee of his reign.
- September 24.** Wrote to Town Clerk, Durban, against enactment of a bye-law prohibiting carrying of coloured passengers by Indian rickshaw-pullers in rickshaws marked "For Europeans Only".
- October 8.** Addressed communication to Dadabhai Naoroji concerning work of Indian National Congress for South African Indians and forwarded draft resolution thereon for the ensuing Congress session.
- December 14.** Defended an indentured Indian, Chellagadu, charged with absenting from work without permission.
- December 21.** Presided over annual function of Indian School, Durban.
- December 24.** Presented petition to Natal Governor against Durban Town Council's bye-law concerning Indian rickshaw-pullers.



## 1901

- March 25.** Wired High Commissioner, informing him of foot-path restrictions and rigorous enforcement of anti-Indian laws, and recalling Imperial Government's assurance to modify, if not repeal, racial legislation.
- March 30.** Protested, in a letter to Colonial Secretary, against singling him out for mention in General Buller's dispatches for services in Boer War.
- May 9, 10.** Represented to Military Governor, Johannesburg, and to High Commissioner, the undesirability of a new Immigration Department to deal with matters of Indian concern.
- May 21.** Expressed in letter to Revashankar Zaveri his sense of grief and loss over passing away of Raychandbhai.
- September 11.** Appeared for and secured discharge of an Indian barber charged under Pass law.
- October 15.** Presented with farewell addresses by Natal Indian Congress and other Indian organizations on eve of his departure for India.
- October 18.** Returned costly gifts and recommended a trust thereof for beneficial purpose.  
Sailed for India, promising to return within a year, if community should need him.
- October 30.** Disembarked at Port Louis, Mauritius.
- November 13, 16.** Accorded reception by Indian community of Mauritius.
- November 19.** Left Mauritius for India.
- December 14.** Reached Rajkot *via* Porbunder.
- December 17.** Left Rajkot for Bombay; on way to Calcutta Congress, met Bhownaggee.
- December 27.** Moved resolution on South Africa at Congress session.

## 1902

- January 19.** Addressed public meeting at Albert Hall, Calcutta, on question of Indians in South Africa.
- January 27.** Addressed second meeting at Calcutta on work of Indian Ambulance Corps in Boer War.
- January 28.** Sailed for Rangoon.
- January 31.** Reached Rangoon
- February 2.** Some time after this date, returned to Calcutta and stayed for several days with Gokhale.
- February 21 or 22.** Was seen off by Gokhale and Dr. P. C. Ray on tour of Benares, Agra, Jaipur and Palanpur *en route* to Rajkot, travelling third class. Spent a day at each place; in Benares, called on Annie Besant.
- February 26.** Reached Rajkot.  
Settled down to practice, handling cases at Jamnagar, Veraval and other places in Kathiawar.
- March 26.** Wrote to W. S. Caine, sending "Notes" on latest position in South Africa and urging efforts by British friends for redress of grievances of Indians.
- March 30.** Forwarded the "Notes" to *India*.  
Sent Bhownaggee copy of his resolution on South Africa adopted at Calcutta Congress.
- March 31.** Writing to Khan and Naazar, pleaded that, if his presence was essential, he should be recalled to South Africa before he settled down in India.



- April 8.** Wrote to Gokhale, congratulating him on his budget speech in the Imperial Legislative Council.
- April 22.** Contributed special article to *The Times of India* on Natal Bill to impose poll-tax on children of indentured Indians indirectly compelling their return to India.
- May 1.** Joined as Secretary, State Volunteer Plague Committee, in Rajkot.
- May 20.** Wrote again to *The Times of India*, furnishing text of Natal Bill recently passed and awaiting Imperial sanction. Urged the paper to raise its voice against the injustice.
- May 31.** Detailed, in a special article in *Voice of India*, the hardships of new poll-tax law and hoped Lord Curzon would intervene and Chamberlain use his influence with Colonies on the side of justice and fairplay.
- June 3.** Urged his associates in Durban, in view of his own bad financial condition, to furnish him with funds for carrying on South African work.
- June 5.** Bombay Presidency Association forwarded memorial, prepared by Gandhi, to Secretary of State for India, opposing Natal Act to amend Indian immigration law by inclusion of poll-tax clause, and demanding suspension of State-regulated emigration to Colony.
- July 10.** Left Rajkot for Bombay to set up legal practice there.
- July 11.** Reached Bombay.
- August 1.** Wrote to Gokhale, mentioning his having secured office space in Bombay, and offering him his services.
- August 6.** Spoke of difficulty in legal profession, in letter to Devchand Parekh.
- November 3.** Referred, in letter to Shukla, to having received cable from Natal recalling him, and to his having pleaded inability to go because of physical weakness and children's ill-health.
- November 14.** Communicated to Gokhale intention to leave for South Africa on November 20.
- December 25.** Arrived in Durban before this date. Wrote to Natal Government, asking for change of date for deputation to Secretary of State for Colonies.
- December 28.** Led deputation of Natal Indians to Chamberlain and presented memorial regarding grievances of Natal Indians.
- December 28-29.** Obtained with the help of Police Superintendent Alexander, permit to enter the Transvaal for leading Pretoria Indians' deputation to Chamberlain.

## 1903

- January 1.** Reached Pretoria.
- January 2.** Waited on Assistant Colonial Secretary but was told that not being resident of the Transvaal, he could not be in deputation.
- January 30.** Wrote to Dadabhai Naoroji, reporting on the deputation to Chamberlain and suggesting prohibition of indentured emigration to Natal.
- February 5.** Wrote, in letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi, of the uncertainty of his stay in South Africa, which was 'no bed of roses'.
- February 16.** Decided to settle down in Johannesburg, in view of public work; about this time, enrolled in Bar of the Transvaal Supreme Court.
- February 23.** Forwarded to Dadabhai Naoroji a comprehensive statement

on the Indian question in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. Wrote to Gokhale that events in the Transvaal were progressing fast and he was "in the thick of the fight".

**March 16.** Despatched periodical statement to Dadabhai Naoroji on the situation in South Africa.

**April 25.** Wrote in *The Vegetarian*, offering tips to prospective emigrants to South Africa.

**May 6.** Mass meeting held in Johannesburg, protesting against enforcement of anti-Indian laws which restricted Indians to bazaars, etc., and calling for their repeal.

**May 16.** Reported to Dadabhai Naoroji the Transvaal Government's move to enforce collection of £ 3 registration tax.

**May 22.** Led Indian deputation to Lord Milner, Governor of the Transvaal, in connect on with compulsory levy of registration tax and general question of Indians in Colony.

**May 24.** Informed Dadabhai Naoroji of demands of Indian deputation to Lord Milner.

**June 4.** *Indian Opinion* commenced publication with Mansukhlal Naazar as editor.

**June 10.** Petition presented to Natal Legislature, demanding amendment of draft ordinance for municipal franchise classing Indians with natives.

**June 23.** Suggested in petition to Natal Council, modifications to Bill for restricting immigration.

**June 30.** Wrote to Haridasbhai Vora, reporting success in professional practice, re-erring to exacting nature of his public work and expressing preparedness to settle down in Johannesburg for a decade or so.

**July 4.** Urged in letter to Gokhale the need of "a well-directed movement" throughout India to counteract agitation of interested parties in the Transvaal against relaxation of old anti-Asiatic laws.

**July 18.** Informed Dadabhai Naoroji of passing of Municipal Ordinance despite Indian objection, and of The Transvaal Government's proposal to lay out 54 Locations for Indians.

**September 7.** Remonstrated, in letter to Dadabhai Naoroji, against any acceptance in England of move for compulsory repatriation of indentured labour and payment of part wages in India.

**December 1.** Wrote to Indian National Congress at Madras that seriousness of situation in Natal should be realised, and early and earnest efforts made to secure relief.

## 1904

**January 18.** Wrote to Dadabhai Naoroji on motion in The Transvaal Legislative Council to restrict renewal of Indians' trading licences.

**February 11.** Wrote to Medical Officer of Health, Johannesburg, about over-crowding and insanitary condition in Indian Location and forewarned him of possibility of outbreak of epidemic.

**March 1.** Intimated Medical Officer of Health that plague had broken out in Johannesburg.

**March 18.** Informed the authorities that a number of Indians "dead or dying", were being "dumped" in the Location: visited the suspected area accompanied by Dr. Godfrey, Dr. Pereira and a health inspector.

**March 19.** Town Clerk informed him that Town Council could not assume



any financial responsibility; improvised hospital and encouraged earth treatment; informed Town Clerk of steps Indian community was taking to combat plague.

**September 5.** Wrote to Dadabhai Naoroji that matters pertaining to Indian question had reached "a crisis".

**October 1.** Took over entire responsibility for and management of *Indian Opinion*. Visited Tongaat; read Ruskin's *Unto This Last* while travelling to Durban; decided to set up a colony on the lines indicated therein.

**November 10.** Anti-Asiatic Convention held at Pretoria demanding drastic steps to eliminate British Indians from the Colony.

**November-December** Founded the Phoenix Settlement.

**December 3.** Petition sent to Acting Lieutenant-Governor regarding compensation claims in respect of goods destroyed at instance of Rand Plague Committee.

**December 24.** First number of *Indian Opinion* issued from Phoenix Settlement.

### 1905

**January 13.** Wrote to G.K. Gokhale regarding *Indian Opinion* and his intention to open a school for Indian children.

**February 17.** Visited Cape Town accompanied by Parsi Rustomji; left for Johannesburg.

**March 4, 11, 18 and 25.** Delivered four lectures on Hindu religion at Theosophical Society, Johannesburg.

**April 7.** Sent memorial to Natal Legislative Assembly regarding Bills "to amend and consolidate the law relating to the Municipal Corporations" and to regulate "use of firearms".

**May.** Was learning Tamil.

**July 8.** Asked, in *Indian Opinion*, for abolition of salt tax in India.

**July 14.** Sought from Johannesburg Town Council assurance of facilities to Indians travelling in trams.

**July 15.** Criticized, in *Indian Opinion*, the Cape Immigration Act.

**July 20.** Partition of Bengal announced.

**July 22.** Called upon South African politicians to reconsider treatment of British Indians in light of India's contribution to defence of Empire.

**August 5.** Contributed 10 s. to Edwin Arnold Memorial Fund.

**August 9.** Poll-Tax Bill passed by Natal Legislative Council.

**August 12.** Gandhi commended, in *Indian Opinion*, Lord Selborne's pronouncement that administrative injustice to natives was a blot and a disgrace.

Welcomed Natal legislature's rejection of Locations and Land Tax Bills, and the Transvaal Supreme Court's judgment permitting transfer of religious property in the name of coloured persons.

**August 14.** Denied, in letter to Haji Habib, that his lectures on religion were critical of any religion or intended to hurt anyone.

**August 19.** Called for united opposition to Bengal partition and supported boycott of British goods.

**August 26.** Praised British Association for Advancement of Science and hoped it would one day meet in India; commented on Curzon's term of viceroyalty.

**August 30.** British Indian Association objected to application to Indians



of Municipal Location Bye-laws for coloured persons in Orange River Colony.

**September 1.** British Indian Association objected to rule requiring Indian refugees to furnish European references.

**September 9.** Condemned, in *Indian Opinion*, maltreatment of Chinese miners.

**September 16.** Considered Gokhale outstanding among candidates for Presidentship of Indian National Congress.

**October 7.** Urged Indians in South Africa to make suitable provision for education.

Condemned intolerance of Bhownaggee's moderate opinion, held that calm reasoning alone would get full measure of justice for India.

**October 9.** Potchefstroom Indian Association presented address and statement to Lord Selborne.

**October 14.** Gandhi led deputation to Lord Selborne at Potchefstroom. Warned South African Indians against plague outbreak. Welcomed reported move in India to abolish salt tax.

**October 24.** Received Bhai Parmanand of the Arya Samaj and acted host to him.

**October 28.** At Johannesburg reception, introduced Bhai Parmanand. Proposed that Natal Indian Congress set up licences committee. Hailed progress of *swadeshi* movement in Bengal.

**November 1.** Called for communal harmony in Bengal to strengthen anti-partition agitation.

**November 11.** Writing about Gokhale-Lajpat Rai delegation to England on behalf of Indian National Congress, appealed to colonial statesmen to treat India, "an integral part of the Empire", with every consideration.

Drew attention to hardships of Indian passengers on ships bound for South Africa.

**November 13.** Deputation of Asiatic National Convention waited on Lt. Governor of the Transvaal; demanded board of control to consider applications for entry into Colony.

**November 18.** Gandhi drew attention to discrimination against Japanese in British colonies.

Asked British Indian League of Cape Colony to oppose immigration law.

**November 25.** Called for revision of poll-tax rules and its discretionary application to poor Indians.

**November 29.** Led British Indian deputation to Lord Selborne to protest against treatment meted out to British Indians in the Transvaal.

**December 2.** Commended *Bande Mataram* as India's national anthem.

**December 4.** As Secretary, British Indian Association, bade farewell to Sir Arthur Lawley, Governor-designate of Madras.

**December 6.** Cape Colony Supreme Court decided Natal Indians had right of domicile in Cape Colony, on basis of long residence, even when unaccompanied by families.

**December 22.** British Indian Association protested to High Commissioner about bracketing of British Indians with coloured persons in Orange River Colony draft ordinances. Later, High Commissioner turned



down Indian request for amending definition of "Coloured Person" in legislation.

**December 23.** Gandhi commended cause of education to Indian youth, citing Gokhale.

Deprecated third-party intervention in settlement of communal disputes in India.

**December 30.** Reviewed position of British Indians in South Africa during 1905 and appealed to Indians to continue struggle "with reasonableness, . . . with patience and yet with persistence".

Deplored factious riots among Muslim community in Heidelberg.

Acted as best man at wedding of Mr. Polak and Miss Douns.

## 1906

**January 1.** Pound one tax on Indians aged 18 or above enforced; Natal Early Closing Act came into force.

**January 20.** Mansukhlal Hiralal Naazar, at one time Editor, *Indian Opinion*, died.

**February 3.** Hindi and Tamil columns of *Indian Opinion* discontinued.

**February 22.** In statement to Dadabhai Naoroji, Gandhi stressed the need for safeguarding Indian interests under responsible government in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony.

**February 26.** Suggested to Dadabhai Naoroji that a deputation wait on the British ministers on behalf of South African Indians.

**February 28.** Spoke at presentation of address by Natal Indian Congress to Abdul Kadir, retiring President.

The Natal native trouble, known as Zulu Rebellion, led by Bambata, broke out.

**March 17.** Gandhi exhorted Indians to volunteer their services to the Government on the occasion of the Zulu Rebellion.

Urged the Government, in *Indian Opinion*, to employ Indians in voluntary work.

**March 21.** Addressed coloured peoples' (non-Indian and non-native) meeting at Johannesburg.

**March 24.** Commended coloured peoples' petition to Imperial Government for franchise and other rights.

Imperial Government set up Commission on the Transvaal Constitution.

**March 31.** Gandhi deprecated import of Indian labour for the Transvaal mines.

**April 14.** Wrote, in *Indian Opinion* that it was not the job of Indians to say whether the Zulu revolt was justified or not. "We are in Natal by virtue of British power. Our very existence depends upon it. It is, therefore, our duty to render whatever help we can. The Indian community is ready to play its part. That is, if the Government so desires, we should raise an ambulance corps. We should also agree to become permanent volunteers if the Government is prepared to give us requisite training."

Natal Indian Congress decided to send deputation to England under Gandhi's leadership.

**April 23.** At Durban meeting to consider future of *Indian Opinion*, Gandhi reiterated its objects and appealed to Indian community to make the journal its own.



**April 24.** Welcomed establishment of Young Men's Mohamedan Association for promoting education; was entrusted with the task of drafting its constitution.

At Durban meeting of the Natal Indian Congress, Gandhi spoke and it was decided to raise an Indian Ambulance Corps to help the Government during the Zulu Rebellion.

**May 12.** Supported home rule for India "in the name of justice and for the good of humanity".

**May 18.** Judgment favouring Indians' right to use trams awarded in Coovadia test case.

**May 19.** Johannesburg Municipality notified repeal of tram regulations and restoration of smallpox regulations which would serve to restrict the use of trams by Indians.

**May 21.** Gandhi questioned, in *Transvaal Leader*, the ethics of Johannesburg Town Council's action.

**May 22.** Led representative deputation to Constitution Committee and presented Indians' viewpoint.

**May 27.** Wrote to brother, Lakshmidas, declaring his disinterestedness in worldly possessions.

**May 29.** Presented statement to Constitution Committee.

**May 30.** British Indian Association decided to include Haji Habib and H. O. Ally in deputation to England.

**Before June 6.** British Indian Committee, London, suggested Gandhi alone proceed to England to present Indian case. Chairman, British Indian Association, and Polak not allowed to use tram in Johannesburg.

British Indian Association decided to file test cases regarding permits if Government failed to redress Indian grievances.

**June 8.** Gandhi informed Dadabhai Naoroji that deputation to England was deferred in view of ambulance work at the front.

**June 9.** Appealed to Indians for contributions to Soldiers' Fund.

**June 16.** Gandhi, leader of the Indian Ambulance Stretcher-Bearer Corps, put his signature with others to the pledge of allegiance to His Majesty King Edward the Seventh. Gandhi was given rank of Sergeant-Major by Government.

Gandhi was medically examined and certified fit.

**June 21.** Ambulance Corps received marching orders.

Owing to uncertainty of the political situation, Gandhi broke up his home and took his wife and family to Natal before leaving for the front as leader of Indian Ambulance Corps.

**June 22.** Entrained with Stretcher-Bearer Corps.

Wrote to Gokhale about Corps; invited him to visit South Africa.

**June 23 to July 18.** Ambulance Corps remained on active duty on the front.

**July 19.** Corps disbanded.

**July 20.** Members of Stretcher-Bearer Corps feted at Stanger. Gandhi spoke at Congress reception in Durban.

Suggested that Indians be allowed to join permanent volunteer corps.

**July.** On returning to Phoenix Settlement, Gandhi broached the subject of *Brahmacharya* (celibacy) with Chhaganlal, Maganlal, West and others having pondered much on the subject while with the Stretcher-Bearer Corps during Zulu Rebellion. Took the vow to observe *Brahmacharya* for life in thought, word and deed.



- July 23.** Congress resolved to present medals to members of Corps. Gandhi spoke at Diamond Jubilee Library meeting.  
British Indian Association emphasized necessity of sending deputation to England.
- July 30.** Gandhi sought Wedderburn's opinion on deputation's usefulness. Wrote to Principal Medical Officer of Natal Militia suggesting formation of permanent Ambulance Corps and emphasizing special training for it.
- August 4.** Pointed out difficulties of Indian refugees seeking to re-enter the Transvaal.  
Wrote on differences between Lyttelton and Elgin Constitutions. Colonial Secretary informed Legislative Council of Government's intention to introduce Bill to re-register Asiatics in the Transvaal. British Indian Association proposed immediate action.
- August 6.** Gandhi wrote to Dadabhai Naoroji about hardships of the Transvaal Indians under proposed re-registration and suggested that the latter interview Secretaries of State for India and Colonies.
- August 7.** Sir Henry Mac-Callum, Natal Governor, thanked Gandhi for services rendered by the Stretcher-Bearer Corps.
- August 18.** Gandhi favoured adoption of Hindustani in India for achieving nationhood.
- August 21.** Cape Licences Act gazetted.
- August 22.** Draft Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance published in the Transvaal Government *Gazette*.
- August 25.** Gandhi demanded that British Indians may no longer be classed with coloured people.  
British Indian Association, in letter to Colonial Secretary, protested against Ordinance.
- August 28.** Gandhi cabled *India* concerning re-registration under Ordinance; suggested commission of enquiry.
- September 1.** Led deputation to Colonial Secretary at Pretoria.
- September 4.** Ordinance introduced in the Transvaal Assembly.
- September 8.** Gandhi described Government's persistence in enacting Draft Asiatic Ordinance as crime against humanity. British Indian Association cabled protest to Secretaries of State for India and Colonies and Viceroy of India against proposed Ordinance.
- September 9.** Spoke at Hamidiya Islamic Society meeting on the political situation in the Transvaal; stressed need to send deputation to England; advised people not to register; and offered himself to court imprisonment first.
- September 11.** Mass meeting of British Indians at Johannesburg held to demand withdrawal of Ordinance; Gandhi explained the implications of "taking a pledge in the name of God or with God as witness".
- September 14.** Indian woman, Punia, travelling by train, arrested and detained at Volksrust for being without separate permit.
- September 15.** Punia tried, ordered to leave Colony and re-arrested at Germiston for defiance of order.
- September 18.** High Commissioner informed British Indian Association that Ordinance had not yet received formal assent.
- September 19.** Apropos of Punia case, Gandhi wrote to Press criticizing the Transvaal Government for its war on women and even infants.
- September 20.** Declared his readiness to accept court of enquiry to investigate influx of Indians into the Transvaal.



- September 21.** Wrote to *The Transvaal Leader*, challenging its statement that Indians were bringing into Colony women of doubtful character as wives.  
*The Natal Mercury* published official explanation of the Punia case. Indian meeting finally decided to send Gandhi and Ally on deputation to England.  
 Lord Selborne informed British Indian Association that assent would not be given to Ordinance until deputation had visited England.
- September 24.** Lord Selborne communicated to British Indian Association Lord Elgin's view that deputation would serve no useful purpose.
- October 1.** Gandhi and Ally entrained at Johannesburg for Cape Town en route to England.
- October 3.** Deputation reached Cape Town and, after reception by leading Indians, boarded *S. S. Armadale Castle*.
- October 9.** *Transvaal Leader* retracted statement of its Durban correspondent libelling Indian women.
- October 10-11.** Gandhi, on board ship, wrote dispatches for *Indian Opinion*; was studying Tamil.
- October 20.** His answers to questions regarding Asiatic Ordinance and methods of resistance published in *Indian Opinion*. Deputation arrived in Southampton.  
 Gandhi interviewed by *The Tribune* and *The Morning Leader*. Met Dadabhai Naoroji.
- October 21.** Deputation reached London. Accompanied by Bhai Parmanand, Gandhi visited Polak and stayed with him for the day.
- October 22.** Gandhi wrote to *The Times* answering charge of Asiatic influx into South Africa.
- October 25.** Winston Churchill, Under Secretary of State for Colonies, stated in Commons that Natal Municipal Franchise Bill was under consideration of Secretary of State for Colonies.
- October 26.** Gandhi met Sir William Wedderburn and Dadabhai Naoroji. First anniversary of Bengal partition observed in India as a day of mourning.
- October 27.** Gandhi interviewed by Reuter.
- November 7.** Addressed Members of Parliament.
- November 8.** Deputation called on Lord Elgin, Colonial Secretary.
- November 20.** Dadabhai Naoroji felicitated by British and Indian admirers in London on election as President of Indian National Congress.
- November 23.** Deputation met John Morley, Secretary of State for India.
- November 26.** Gandhi opened discussion on British Indians in South Africa at East India Association meeting.  
 Liberal MPs decided to ask Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, to receive deputation regarding Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance.
- November 27.** Gandhi interviewed by *The Daily News*. A deputation of MPs met the Prime Minister who said "that he did not approve of the Ordinance and that he would speak to Lord Elgin".
- December 1.** Left England for South Africa.
- December 3.** Churchill informed Commons that Secretary of State for Colonies was not able "without further consideration" to advise His



Majesty that the Transvaal Ordinance should be brought into operation, and it would not "be further proceeded with at present".

**December 6.** The Transvaal and Orange River Colony granted self-government.

**December 18.** Gandhi and Ally arrived at Cape Town.

**December 22.** Reception at Johannesburg.

**December 23.** Gandhi spoke at meeting of British Indian Association at Johannesburg; address presented to him and Ally.

**December 25.** Pretoria, Boksburg and Germiston Indians presented addresses to Gandhi and Ally.

**December 26.** Reception at Durban; Gandhi appealed for unity and continuation of struggle.

In India, Dadabhai Naoroji declared *swaraj* as goal of Congress; *Bande Mataram* sung for the first time at Congress session.

## 1907

**February 15.** Gandhi appeared in permit case on behalf of Coovadia's minor son and secured acquittal.

**February 18.** Churchill informed Commons that Natal Government had been refused leave to introduce legislation excluding Asiatics from trading licences, and that Colonial Office was in communication with that Government regarding Act of 1897.

**March 2.** British Indian Association protested to Registrar of Asiatics against taking of finger-prints by police.

**March 22.** Asiatic Registration Bill passed in the Transvaal Parliament.

**March 29.** The Transvaal Indians' mass meeting protested against Asiatic Registration Act and offered voluntary registration.

**April 4.** Gandhi called on General Smuts at Pretoria and presented resolutions adopted at the mass meeting of March 29.

**April 8.** Spoke at meeting of Natal Indian Congress in Durban.

**April 9.** Wrote to *The Natal Advertiser* correcting mis-statement regarding unauthorized immigration into the Colony.

**April 21.** Elected to committee for malaria relief at Springfield.

**April 25.** Meeting of Members of Parliament decided that deputations should wait on General Botha and Morley in regard to problems of the Transvaal Indians.

**April 29.** Deputation led by Lord Ampthill waited on General Botha, who repudiated any intention of hurting British Indian's feelings in the Colony by the new measure.

**April 30.** Gandhi, in letter to *Indian Opinion*, pledged to oppose Asiatic Registration Act, and appealed to Indians to be steadfast in their stand. Deputation led by Sir Henry Cotton waited on Morley, who expressed willingness to address General Botha on modifications which it might be possible to introduce in regulations under Asiatic Registration Act.

**May 7.** Churchill informed Commons of General Botha's assurance that regulations under Asiatic Registration Act would be revised with a view to removing, as far as possible, undesirable conditions.

Asiatic Registration Act received Royal assent.

**May 11.** Addressed Committee of British Indian Association on existing situation.



Wrote to *The Star* criticizing its suggestion that Indians opposing Registration Act be deported.

**May 26.** Addressed Chinese Association meeting on anti-Asiatic laws.

**May 30.** Wrote to *The Star* appealing to colonists not to enforce Registration Act and to accept voluntary registration by Indians.

**June 1.** Attended meeting of British Indian Association which decided to send deputation to Prime Minister, General Botha, to urge acceptance of compromise proposal.

**June 4.** Botha declined to meet deputation.

**June 6.** Secretary of State for India, John Morley, indicated in Commons nature of proposed constitutional reforms in India.

**June 8.** The Transvaal Government *Gazette* announced Royal assent to Asiatic Registration Act.

**June 28.** Gandhi, in interview to *Rand Daily Mail*, declared determination of Indians not to submit to the Act.

**June 29.** Spoke at Indian meeting in Volksrust to protest against the Act.

**June 30.** Addressed Indian meeting at Pretoria on implications of the Act.

**July 1.** The Act enforced in Pretoria. First permit office opened. Indians notified to register within one month. Campaign against registration started.

Gandhi addressed mass meeting; wrote to *Rand Daily Mail* that Indians in Pretoria would not submit to compulsory re-registration irrespective of consequences.

**July 3.** Immigration Restriction Bill published.

**July 4.** Gandhi wrote to *The Star*, condemning Immigration Bill.

**July 14.** Gandhi addressed meeting of Hamidia Islamic Society at Johannesburg, calling upon Indians not to submit to compulsory re-registration.

**July 20.** Appealed for funds in aid of the Transvaal struggle at meeting of Natal Indian Congress in Durban.

**July 22.** British Indian Association submitted petition to the Transvaal Legislative Council regarding Immigration Restriction Bill.

**July 24.** Gandhi arrived at Pretoria; called at Khamisa's shop where applications for registration were being received secretly at night.

**July 25.** On question as to General Botha's assurance to Secretary of State for Colonies regarding administration of Asiatic Act, it was stated in Commons that no efforts would be spared to make application and operation of Act as little irksome as possible and that finger-print system would be retained.

**July 28.** Indians' meeting held in Hamidia Islamic Society Hall, Johannesburg.

*Hartal* observed in the Transvaal.

**July 31.** Gandhi met William Hosken in morning; addressed Pretoria mass meeting; took sole responsibility for advising Indians to oppose law and explained significance of passive resistance; warned them of the dangers of submission to the Act.

Gave interview to *Rand Daily Mail*.

**August 8.** Gandhi wrote to General Smuts suggesting amendments to Asiatic Act.

**August 15.** Wrote to General Smuts that for Indians result of compliance with the Act would be worse than non-compliance.

**August 17.** Released for publication the correspondence with General Smuts.



- August 19.** Wrote to *The Star* regarding proposal submitted to General Smuts.
- August 23.** British Indian Association addressed petition to Secretary of State for Colonies.
- August 31.** Gandhi and others gave send-off to Ally and family who left the Transvaal as they did not wish to submit to the Act.
- October 6.** Addressing meeting of British Indian Association, Gandhi said he would defend arrested pickets.
- October 15.** Repudiated in court charge of intimidation against pickets and wrote to the Commissioner of Police.
- October 18.** Gandhi wrote to *The Star*, refuting intimidation charge.
- October 23.** Addressed meetings of British Indian Association and Anti-Indian Law Fund.
- October 24.** Wrote to *The Star* regarding Asiatic Registration Act.
- October 27.** Met the Commissioner of Police, Johannesburg, regarding picketing.  
At meeting of Hamidia Islamic Society, reported on interview with the Police Commissioner.  
Met Mahomed Shahboodeen who had been assaulted by Mahomedan priest.
- November 1.** British India Association forwarded Petition signed by 4,522 Indians to the Colonial Secretary.  
Gandhi wrote to *The Transvaal Leader* regarding registration of Indians.
- November 11.** Gandhi appeared in defence of Ram Sundar Pundit, first Indian arrested at Germiston.  
Spoke at meeting of Indians held after Pundit's release on his own recognisance.  
Gave interview to *The Transvaal Leader*.
- November 14.** Appeared at Germiston in trial of Ram Sundar Pundit, who was sentenced to a month's imprisonment.  
*Hartal* observed in the Transvaal.
- November 15.** Appeared in trial of pickets at Pretoria; wrote to *Indian Opinion* regarding Ram Sundar Pundit.
- November 19.** Appeared in trial of Mahomed Shah and others at Germiston.
- November 21.** Sent the *Ramayana* and the *Gita* to Manilal Gandhi.
- November 22.** Wrote to G. K. Gokhale suggesting "Hindu-Muslim compact" to be made special feature of forthcoming session of Indian National Congress.
- November 30.** Last date for registration; only 511 out of 13,000 Indians registered.  
During this month, the struggle was designated *satyagraha* for the first time.
- December 3.** Received message from William Hosken that he should approach High Commissioner regarding Asiatic Law Amendment Act.  
Writing to High Commissioner, suggested appointment of judge to investigate charge of surreptitious entry by Indians.
- December 6.** Appeared in trial of Mahomed Essak.  
In India, terrorist attempt made on Lieutenant-Governor's train near Midnapur, Bengal.
- December 9.** Appeared in trial of 37 Indians at Volksrust.
- December 11.** Defended Mahomed Essak, who was acquitted.



- December 12.** Wrote to *Indian Opinion* regarding prosecution of Indians.
- December 13.** Participated in reception to Ram Sundar Pundit who was released from gaol; later spoke at meeting.
- December 26.** General Smuts decided to prosecute Gandhi and other pickets.  
Indian National Congress session commenced in Surat; split between Moderates and Extremists.
- December 27.** Royal assent to the Transvaal Immigration Act gazetted. Gandhi called on Acting Commissioner of Police of the Transvaal, and was informed of orders for arrest of himself and other pickets. Later, addressed mass meeting at Johannesburg. Gave interview to *The Star*.
- December 28.** Conducted his own defence at trial and also appeared in defence of pickets; was ordered to leave the Transvaal within 48 hours. Later, spoke at meeting in Government Square.
- December 30.** Addressed meeting of Chinese Association at Johannesburg. Gave interview to Reuter.  
Addressed mass meeting at Pretoria.
- December 31.** Was informed that his appearance in court was not required until further notice.  
European friends called on him and expressed sympathy. Addressed mass meeting of Indians.

## 1908

- January 1.** The Transvaal Immigrants' Restriction Act (TIRA) (No. 15 of 1907) came into force. Mass meeting held at Surti mosque, Fordsburg, to protest against TIRA and the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act (TARA) (Law 2 of 1907).
- January 3.** Appeared in a Johannesburg court to defend Nawab Khan and Sumandar Khan, prosecuted under TARA.
- January 4.** British Indian Association informed Receiver of Revenues that if the Indian traders, not registered under TARA, were refused licences, they would trade without them. Gandhi pointed out in a letter to *The Star* that TARA rested on an unproved charge against Asiatics. General Smuts in speech at Mayville said that Indians had been misled by their leaders and declared that no Parliament in the country could repeal TARA. Gandhi attempted unsuccessfully to see General Smuts regarding his speech at Mayville.
- January 6.** In interviews to *The Star* and *The Transvaal Leader*, Gandhi summed up Indian position against TARA.
- January 8.** Told Reuter that if TARA was suspended all Indians would register within a month.
- Before January 10.** Writing in *Indian Opinion*, reiterated Indians' determination to face imprisonment and deportation.  
Adopted the term *satyagraha* as Gujarati equivalent for passive resistance.
- January 10.** In message to the Transvaal Indians, exhorted them to remain steadfast.  
Assured *The Star* that Indians would register voluntarily if element of compulsion in TARA was withdrawn.  
Addressed a meeting before his trial.



Tried and sentenced to jail for two months.

Declared, in final interview to *Rand Daily Mail*, that he had undertaken the struggle prayerfully and in all humility.

**January 21.** Cartwright met Gandhi in jail, and they agreed upon voluntary registration by Indians in return for repeal of TARA.

Addressed petition to Director of Prisons regarding Asiatic prisoners' diet-scale.

**January 27.** Public meetings held in Ahmednagar and elsewhere in India, protesting to Imperial Government against TARA

**January 28.** Blue Book on the Transvaal Asiatic legislation published in London.

At meeting in New Reform Club, London, Sir W. Wedderburn declared that, since Imperial Government spent £3 million annually on defence of the Transvaal, it had a right to demand that the Transvaal Indians be treated in keeping with Imperial traditions. Sir M. M. Bhownaggee warned of an "Imperial danger" and M.A. Jinnah said all Indians were united in their protest against humiliating treatment of the Transvaal Indians. Cartwright brought compromise letter drafted either by himself or General Smuts to Gandhi in jail. After amending it, Gandhi signed it along with Quinn and Naidoo at 12-30 p.m.

At 2-30 p.m., Cartwright left for Pretoria to meet General Smuts.

At 5 p.m., Cartwright rang up to say General Smuts had accepted the terms of compromise letter.

**January 29.** Public meeting, held at Bombay under chairmanship of His Highness the Aga Khan, protested against TARA and appealed to Imperial Government to intervene and, failing that, to allow a retaliatory policy in India against South Africans.

**January 30.** Acting Assistant Colonial Secretary wrote accepting compromise letter.

Gandhi escorted to Pretoria to meet General Smuts; settlement reached regarding voluntary registration and its validation.

Learnt from Chamney that legalization of voluntary registration by Asiatics was being proposed under TARA.

Unsuccessfully sought another interview with Smuts.

In interview to *Rand Daily Mail* and *The Transvaal Leader*, discussed the "compromise" and his treatment in prison. Addressed midnight meeting, a thousand strong, in the precincts of Hamidia mosque.

Formally released from prison.

Explained settlement at British Indian Association (BIA) meeting.

In interview to Reuter, suggested that Asiatics with domiciliary rights be assimilated in future South African nation; agreed with Smuts that indenture system in Natal should be stopped.

**January 31.** All *satyagrahis* released.

In Press interview, Smuts said that Asiatics could trade without licences pending legalization of compromise. Said that demand for repeal of TARA was preposterous and Indians had not persisted in it.

**February 1.** Gandhi wrote to Smuts against Government's intention to legalize voluntary registration under TARA, and proposed that this be done by amendment of TIRA instead.

In interview to Press, refuted charge of organized surreptitious entry of British Indians, on which TARA was based.

**February 2.** Declared at BIA meeting in Johannesburg that, if violence



- was to be used against those giving finger-prints, he should be first victim.
- February 3.** Met General Smuts who, in Chamney's presence, repeated promise to repeal TARA if the Transvaal Asiatics registered voluntarily. G. K. Gokhale asked at meeting of Viceroy's Council, if India Government were aware of "the depth and intensity of public feeling" at the "injustice and indignities" of the Transvaal Indians.
- February 8.** Explaining procedure for voluntary registration in *Indian Opinion*, Gandhi advised educated Indians not to exercise option in favour of affixing their signatures rather than finger-impressions on voluntary registration applications.
- February 10.** Voluntary registration began.  
Gandhi assaulted by Mir Alam Khan and others; appealed from his sick-bed at Doke's house that assailants be forgiven, and asked Asiatics to give their finger-prints voluntarily.
- February 15.** "A Dialogue on the Compromise" published in *Indian Opinion*.
- February 22.** Gandhi wrote in *Indian Opinion*, of February 22 and 29, explaining conditions under which he accepted compromise and clarified Indian community's obligations; emphasized solidarity of the Transvaal Hindus and Muslims.  
Wrote to Smuts, enclosing Draft Bill to amend TIRA; suggested therein repeal of Peace Preservation Ordinance and TARA.
- February 29.** Number of voluntary registration applications at Johannesburg rose to 3,400.
- March 5.** Gandhi left for Durban to dispel widespread misunderstanding on compromise among Pathans and others.  
Addressed public meeting under auspices of Natal Indian Congress at Durban.  
Another attempted assault on Gandhi, evidently by Pathans
- March 6.** Met Durban Pathans who insisted that he had betrayed community; reported that this conciliatory meeting was a failure.  
Left for Phoenix along with a "merry party" to "meet my family" after convalescence.
- March 18.** Number of voluntary registrants in Johannesburg rose to 5,090.
- April 30.** Bomb incident at Muzaffarpur in India.  
Last day for *satyagrahi* traders who had been carrying on unlicensed trade to take out licences. These were issued up to December 31 to voluntary registrants and up to June 30 for traders who had not so registered.
- May 3.** A bomb "factory" discovered in offices of *Navasakti*. Aurobindo Ghosh, formerly of *Yugantar*, and 50 others arrested.
- May 9.** Last date for voluntary registration by Asiatics; 8,700 applications received and 6,000 accepted.
- May 12.** In telegram, Chamney announced that all Asiatics entering Colony after May 9 should register under TARA. Gandhi wrote to Smuts asking that this misunderstanding on compromise be clarified.
- May 14.** Gandhi wrote to Cartwright saying his services as mediator might again be required.  
Wrote to Lane saying that period of three months in compromise letter was never intended to apply to Asiatics returning to Colony or otherwise possessing right of re-entry; urged Smuts to accept voluntary registration of new arrivals and repeal Act.



- May 15.** Lane wrote to Gandhi saying Colonial Secretary could not depart from earlier decision.
- May 16.** Following Smuts' emphatic refusal to extend voluntary registration facilities to Asiatics having domiciliary rights but entering after three-month compromise period, Gandhi accused Smuts, in weekly newsletter, of "foul-play" but still hoped latter would repeal TARA.
- May 18.** Speaking at Y.M.C.A., Johannesburg, Gandhi claimed that coloured races were an integral part of the Empire and declared his faith in mission of British to raise subject races to equality with themselves.
- May 20.** Writing in *Indian Opinion*, appealed to Pathan community to express disapproval of acts of violence by isolated Pathans. Writing in his newsletter on assault on Essopia, declared that, if one lacked the requisite courage for *satyagraha*, one might use arms in self-defence.
- May 21.** Wrote to Smuts asking for public announcement of repeal of TARA.
- May 22.** Lane replied stating General Smuts' inability to comply with above request. Registrar of Asiatics wrote to BIA pointing out that introduction of minors into Colony by Asiatics was punishable under TARA.
- May 23.** Chairman, BIA, replied that, since Indians had registered voluntarily in compliance with compromise, they considered TARA a dead letter and its enforcement a breach of compromise. Gandhi shown draft of the Transvaal Asiatics' Registration Validation Bill by Cartwright.
- May 26.** BIA wrote to Colonial Secretary informing him of British Indians' decision to withdraw voluntary registration applications as the latter had gone back on his "compromise assurance". Gandhi, Bawazeer, Naidoo and Quinn wrote to Chamney asking for return of their voluntary registration applications.
- May 30.** In letter to *Indian Opinion*, announced that *satyagraha* would be resumed.
- June 1.** Gandhi informed over telephone that Smuts had called Cabinet meeting to consider Indian question and that his reply would be sent on June 2.
- June 4.** Gandhi invited to meet Smuts on June 6 to discuss new draft of Validation Bill.
- June 6.** Met Smuts; discussed mode of validating voluntary registration, his draft amendment of TIRA and right of future Asiatic immigrants to voluntary registration. Smuts agreed TARA was wholly bad and served no useful purpose. Emergence of disagreement about categories of Asiatics whose right of domicile was to be recognized under proposed legislation. Gandhi asked for assurance on repeal of TARA, else he would move Supreme Court for return of applications. Wrote to Cartwright asking him to persuade Progressives not to obstruct repeal of TARA.
- June 12.** Sent Smuts a telegram announcing decision to move Supreme Court for return of applications on advice of eminent counsel. Smuts asked him to an interview the next day.
- June 13.** Met Smuts who promised decision within a week; move to approach Supreme Court put off by a week at meeting of BIA Committee. In a letter, covering discussions, Gandhi pleaded that any amend-



ment of TIRA should protect rights of (1) refugees; (2) holders of £3 registration certificates and PPO Permits; and (3) that rights of would-be educated immigrants should not be jeopardized by compromise.

**June 20.** Met Smuts who asked to see him again on June 22 "to consider one or two minor points that remain".

**June 22.** *Leader* editorial saying TARA would be repealed.

At meeting with Smuts, Gandhi was shown draft amendment to TIRA—an 'excellent Bill' for voluntary registrants, past and future—which, however, excluded the three categories of persons and declared them prohibited immigrants.

Gandhi's proposal for referring educated Indians' issue to Supreme Court was turned down. Smuts also refused right of judicial review of voluntary registrants' claims rejected by Registrar of Asiatics. On Gandhi's refusal to agree to these conditions, Smuts announced decision to retain TARA and amend it to validate voluntary registration.

In interviews and letters to Press, Gandhi announced this breach of compromise and his intention to move Supreme Court for return of applications for voluntary registration.

BIA Committee endorsed proposed test case in Supreme Court.

In Press statement explaining breakdown of negotiations, Smuts argued that compromise letter of January 19 did not mention repeal of TARA; he was, however, willing to repeal the Act provided Indians agreed to exclusion of the three categories of persons in amending Bill. Since Gandhi did not agree, voluntary registration would be validated by separate measure.

**June 24.** Mass meeting in Johannesburg announced community's resolve to withdraw applications and reaffirmed resolution of September 11, 1906, not to submit to TARA.

Sorabji Shapurji entered the Transvaal to test right of educated Indians. In India, Tilak arrested on charge of sedition for his articles in *Kesari*, entitled "The Country's Misfortune", of May 12 and "These Remedies Are Not Lasting", of June 12.

In weekly newsletter, Gandhi declared that *satyagraha* was no longer struggle for self-interest but for rights of others—the three categories of "prohibited immigrants". Burning of registration certificates—if "voluntary" applications were not returned—mentioned for the first time as means of continuing *satyagraha*.

**July 2.** Aswat's petition rejected by Supreme Court.

Gandhi wrote to Transvaal Press, releasing his correspondence with Smuts for publication.

**July 4.** In letter to *The Transvaal Leader*, Rev. Doke argued that Indians' campaign against TARA was fully justified.

**July 5.** Meeting in Hamidia mosque considered situation arising from Supreme Court's ruling on Aswat's petition and decided to burn registration certificates following Sunday.

**July 7.** Registrar of Asiatics instructed municipalities to demand thumb-impressions under TARA from Asiatic traders applying for licences. Gandhi interpreted this to mean that Government wanted to bring voluntary registrants also under TARA.

**July 9.** Chairman, BIA, wrote to Colonial Secretary (1) complaining that demand of thumb-impressions from Indian applicants for trading licences constituted breach of compromise, and (2) saying that education



test under TIRA could be made very severe. Meanwhile, Indians would put off mass meeting of July 12 for burning certificates.

**July 10.** Johannesburg Court ordered Shapurji to leave Colony within seven days.

**July 16.** Report in *The Star* announcing decision of eminent Indians to take to unlicensed hawking as "protest and penance".

Hawking without licences begun.

**July 20.** Ebrahim Isamil and Suliman Bagas tried and sent to jail as unlicensed "hawkers".

Gandhi appeared in Court to defend Sorabji Shapurji; Shapurji sentenced to a month's hard labour under PPO, not TIRA.

Indians wishing to enter Court during trial of "unlicensed hawkers" assaulted by Police.

Addressing meeting outside Court, Gandhi asked traders to court arrest by trading without licences as protest against proposed deprivation of educated Indians' rights.

**July 22.** Gandhi appeared in Court to defend Bawazeer and others.

Ratanji Laloo's appeal dismissed in Supreme Court. In judgment, Justice Solomon said Asiatics might be admitted under TIRA education test.

**July 23.** Indian traders all over South Africa observed hartal as a mark of respect for Bawazeer.

**July 26.** Gandhi was shown by Hosken, a copy of Asiatic Voluntary Registration Bill, "a fraudulent bill", which equated voluntary registrants with those who had submitted to TARA and did not provide for the three categories of persons.

**July 28.** Gandhi appeared in Court to defend Harilal Gandhi and others.

**August 14.** Gandhi wrote to Smuts appealing to him once more to respect compromise, accept his amendment of TIRA or to meet Indian leaders with a view to a settlement; failing that, certificates would be burnt following Sunday.

Wrote to George Farrer, Leader of Opposition, detailing his objections to Validation Bill.

**August 16.** Addressed mass meeting in Johannesburg which resolved to oppose TARA; registration certificates burnt.

**August 18.** Went to Pretoria, at General Smuts' invitation, to meeting attended by Botha and Smuts and members of Progressive Party. Government offered to alter Validation Bill, saying specifically that TARA would not apply to voluntary registrants and minors.

**August 21.** In the Transvaal Legislative Assembly, Asiatics' Voluntary Registration Validation Bill withdrawn on Select Committee's recommendation. A new Bill, Asiatics' Registration Amendment Bill, was read. Second reading of ARAB in Legislative Council and third reading in Legislative Assembly.

Gandhi said in interviews to *The Transvaal Leader* and *The Star* that the new Bill fell short of the terms proposed by Asiatics, and that passive resistance, "a state of suffering", would be resumed.

**August 23.** Mass meeting in Johannesburg in which more registration certificates were burnt. Mir Alam, Gandhi's assailant and other Pathans admitted their error and resolved "to fight to the end".

In his speech, Gandhi deprecated Sir Percy Fitzpatrick's hint that there might be racial conflict in Colony.

**August 24.** Chairman, BIA, wrote to Colonial Secretary asking Govern-



ment once more, "on the eve of a fierce struggle", to give the relief sought by Asiatics.

**August 27.** Dawad Mahomed and other Natal Indian leaders arrested in Anjuman Islam Hall, Pretoria.

**August 28.** Natal Indian leaders deported from Pretoria; Gandhi along with others saw them off at railway station.

**September 5.** Gandhi commended, in *Indian Opinion*, Col. Seely's statement in Parliament of July 31, that "those who have a right to be in the Colonies should be accorded equal rights with the Whites and must be accepted as full-fledged citizens".

**September 10.** Gandhi spoke at Johannesburg mass meeting. BIA took over Gandhi's financial responsibilities, his own needs being looked after by Kallenbach.

Presided over meeting to compose differences between Konkanis and Kanamias.

**September 14.** Drew up petition to Secretary of State for Colonies, on behalf of the Transvaal Pathans and Punjabis, demanding repeal of the Asiatic Act.

**September 17.** Harilal Gandhi deported from the Transvaal.

Gandhi wrote to *The Star* clarifying position regarding education test and charging Smuts with breach of promise to repeal Registration Act.

**September 19.** Gandhi, along with others, met Hosken and communicated terms for settlement.

Writing in *Indian Opinion*, exhorted Natal Indians to oppose Natal Government's Bill to restrict municipal authority for granting certain kinds of licences.

**September 21.** Cases against Harilal Gandhi and others withdrawn. New Asiatic Act came into force.

**September 22.** Natal Supreme Court ruled immigrants' children subject to penalties under Immigrants' Restriction Act, 1907. Harilal Gandhi, released from Volksrust, arrived in Johannesburg.

Regulations under new Act published.

**September 23.** Smuts rejected Indian terms for settlement.

**September 26.** Gandhi advised that Natal leaders dissuade Indians entering Natal from giving thumb-impressions; commended Natal's part in the Transvaal campaign.

**September 27.** Arrived in Durban to meet Indian passengers on *S. S. Gous-erneur*, bound for the Transvaal.

**September 30.** Interviewed at length by *Natal Mercury* at Durban, stressed that Indians did not want unrestricted immigration or trade, but objected to legislative discrimination.

**October 2.** Prepared draft memorandum of Johannesburg clergymen about ill-treatment of Indians.

**October 3.** Urged Natal Indians to agitate for ending indenture system.

**October 6.** Left Durban for the Transvaal.

**October 7.** Arrested at Volksrust, along with fifteen other Indians, for entering the Transvaal without registration certificates.

**October 8.** Produced with 15 others before Magistrate; refused to avail of bail; remanded for a week.

**October 11.** Drew up, in Volksrust Gaol, petition to Resident Magistrate about deficient diet-scale.

**October 12.** Batch of Indians, including minors, deported from Barbeton



to Portuguese territory.

**October 13.** Gandhi, in detention, sent message 'exhorting Indians to face gaol-going for sake of the mother-land.

Sentenced to two months' imprisonment with hard labour.

On way to prison, sent message to Indian youth about passive resistance and appealed for steadfastness.

**October 15.** Reported at road-making work on Market Square. Reuter's Volksrust correspondent wrote, "Mr. Gandhi expressed himself as being the happiest man in the Transvaal".

**October 16.** Mass meeting held at Hamidia mosque, Fordsburg. BIA, NIC in cable to Ritch resented Gandhi being made to work on road-making.

**October 22.** Viceroy of India conveyed to India Office the Indian resentment on treatment of passive resisters in the Transvaal, recommended considerateness and urged conceding of Indian demand for entry of six educated Indians annually.

**October 25.** Gandhi removed from Volksrust Gaol to Johannesburg in convict garb to testify in Daya Lalla's case; refused offer of cab, and marched on foot from Park Station to Fort, carrying prison knapsack.

**October 27.** Transferred to Johannesburg Gaol.

**November 3.** The Transvaal Government cabled Colonial Office that Gandhi "was employed for two and a half days in Agricultural Show Ground at Volksrust digging holes for trees and thereafter in Municipal Plantation and Gaol Gardens."

**November 9.** Gandhi, writing to West, declared *satyagraha* a religious fight and refused to obtain release by paying fine, even to visit Kasturba lying gravely ill; addressed her a farewell note.

**November 14.** Was made to work, with other prisoners, on municipal water-works, cleaning cemetery and tending to soldiers' graves.

**November 17.** Reported at work with Indian prisoners cleaning cemetery and tending to soldiers' graves.

**November 19.** Fifty prisoners, from Barberton and Volksrust, released on appeal, on Supreme Court ruling that domiciled Indians returning to Colony must be allowed to register themselves.

**November 22.** Calcutta public meeting condemned failure of the Transvaal Government to repeal Act 2 of 1907; Surendranath Banerjea expressed indignation that Gandhi, of "whom any nation would be proud, had been ignominiously handled through the streets of Johannesburg".

**November 24.** Polak pleaded in Court for release of Gandhi and others on ground of gross miscarriage of justice.

**November 27.** Attorney-General refused to order release of Gandhi and others in Volksrust Gaol.

**November 30.** Gokhale, in address to New Reform Club, London, referred to Indians' sufferings in South Africa as one of the causes for loss of faith in British rule.

**December 1.** Volksrust Magistrate discharged an Indian accused of refusing identification, accepting Polak's defence that section 9 of Registration Act and regulations relating thereto came into operation only then and could not apply to registered Indians arrested earlier.

Natal *Government Gazette* announced appointment of Commission to inquire into question of Indian immigration to Natal.

**December 3.** Polak wrote to *The Star* pointing out anomaly of Gandhi's

- conviction in light of Volksrust Magistrate's judgment of December 1.
- December 5.** Gandhi's message from Volksrust Gaol, asking Indians to remain steadfast in their pledge, read out at Johannesburg mass meeting.
- December 12.** Gandhi released from Volksrust Gaol. Interviewed at Volksrust, on way to Johannesburg, about ill-treatment in prison. Extended reception at Johannesburg.
- December 13.** Hamidia Islamic Society held meeting to honour Gandhi and Imam Abdool Kadir Bawazeer.
- December 14.** Addressed meeting of Tamil community; later, entertained at dinner by Tamil Benefit Society.
- December 18.** Gandhi defended Naidoo and other Indian pickets at Johannesburg.  
Spoke at meeting of representative Europeans of the Transvaal.
- December 21.** Addressed Tamil community meeting at Market street, Johannesburg.  
Ritch forwarded to Colonial Office copies of affidavits regarding Gandhi's hard labour in prison.
- December 23.** Gandhi presented to Nelson, Volksrust Prison Officer, Tolstoy's *Kingdom of God is within You*.
- December 24.** Appeal in Transvaal Asiatic Test Case dismissed in Pretoria Court, for lack of jurisdiction.
- December 26.** Gandhi reached Durban; given rousing reception; left for Phoenix to meet Kasturba who was ill.
- December 28.** In letter to Maganlal Gandhi, stressed need to strive for spiritual growth, which would ensure advance of religion and country.
- December 30.** Harilal Gandhi and Randeria arrested at Johannesburg as prohibited immigrants, and remanded till January 5.  
*Pretoria News* pleaded for conceding Indian demands, admitting "the persistency and unfailing good temper with which Mr. Gandhi and his compatriots are pursuing their campaign for what they consider to be their rights".

### 1909

- January 2.** Exhorted countrymen, in a new year message to adopt *swadeshi*.
- January 10.** Dr. Nanji operated on Kasturba, seriously ill for three months, in Durban. Gandhi on visit; left for Johannesburg.
- January 15.** Gandhi, on way to Johannesburg, arrested at Volksrust for failing to produce registration certificate. Deported and escorted to border, returned immediately and was re-arrested. Released on his own recognizance, returned to Johannesburg.
- January 20.** Wrote to the Press stating that Indians had entered the third and final phase of struggle.  
Johannesburg Town Council urged Government to deal firmly with Asiatic problem and enforce Registration Act.
- January 27.** Gandhi forwarded to Lord Curzon a statement on Indian position, hoping his intervention would result in happy termination of struggle.  
Kholwad Conference of Indians resolved not to take out licences or renew registration certificates.
- January 28.** Indian merchants at Johannesburg decided to do without licences and court imprisonment.
- January 29.** Gandhi informed of improvement in Kasturba's condition



- February 2.** Lord Curzon informed Gandhi of his discussion with Botha and Smuts and of their "anxiety to treat British Indians . . . in spirit of liberality as well as justice".
- February 4.** Gandhi moved Kasturba, convalescing after operation, to Phoenix.
- February 10.** Harilal Gandhi and several others sentenced at Volksrust to terms ranging between three to six months.  
Imperial Government withheld assent to Asiatic Act of Rhodesia.
- February 11.** Parsi Rustomji and others arrested on re-entering the Transvaal after deportation and sentenced to 6 months.
- February 17.** More passive resisters awarded sentences from 3 to 6 months; others remanded; arrests reported from Pretoria, Heidelberg, Germiston, etc.
- February 22.** Gandhi left Phoenix for Johannesburg.
- February 25.** Arrested at Volksrust along with Polak and Vyas. Sentenced to 3 months or £50 fine for failure to produce registration certificate. Taken to Pretoria in handcuffs to give evidence in Mrs. Pillay's case. Issued message to Tamils exhorting them to keep up struggle.
- March 2.** Order issued for Gandhi's transfer from Volksrust Gaol to Pretoria Gaol.
- March 3.** Removed to Pretoria Central Gaol, handcuffed.
- March 4.** Given work of polishing prison floor and doors.
- March 6.** Whites started agitation to set up Locations at Barberton, Boksburg, Krugersdorp, etc.
- March 9.** Gandhi submitted petition concerning diet to Pretoria Gaol Governor.
- March 10.** Taken in handcuffs to Court to appear as witness. Passive resisters congratulated Kasturba on Gandhi's third sentence of imprisonment for self-respect and honour of Asiatic communities.
- March 15.** Draft South Africa Bill laid before South African Parliament; question raised in Commons.
- March 19.** Transvaal Supreme Court ruled Indians were not disabled from securing trading licences in mining areas.
- March 27.** More arrests, convictions and deportations at Johannesburg, Vereeniging and Volksrust reported. Dawad Mahomed, Parsi Rustomji, Harilal Gandhi and Randeria along with 65 other prisoners, reported removed from Volksrust to Heidelberg to work on quarries.
- April 12.** Question of Gandhi being marched in handcuffs raised in Commons; Under Secretary of State for Colonies insisted that no special disability or indignity was imposed on Gandhi as passive resister.
- April 17.** *Indian Opinion* correspondent reported that Gandhi "in the Pretoria Central Gaol, is slowly starving himself as a protest against the treatment of Indians, under the Gaol Regulations as Kaffirs" and refusing personal allowance of *ghee* unless same was extended to all the Transvaal Indian prisoners.
- May 4.** Indian *satyagrahis* in the Transvaal gaols started receiving *ghee* as part of diet.
- May 8.** New Regulations under Section 9 of Act 5 of 1894, published in *Government Gazette*, banned admission of native, Indian or coloured children to European schools.
- May 19.** The Transvaal Supreme Court held that Government had no power under Notice of 1908 to cancel reservation of Location.



- May 24.** Gandhi released from Pretoria Central Gaol; said at meeting in Mahomedan Mosque Hall that he felt no pleasure at being free.
- May 25.** Left for Johannesburg.
- May 26.** Given rousing reception on arrival at Park Station. Addressing meeting in mosque grounds, exhorted Indians to resist unjust law.  
Wrote to Johannesburg Press on jail experiences.
- May 29.** Gave in *Indian Opinion* lengthy exposition of meaning and implications of *satyagraha*; commenced series of articles on jail experiences.
- June 3.** Pretoria Town Council withdrew ban on use of municipal wash-houses by coloured persons.
- June 6.** Spoke at meeting of the Transvaal British Indian Conciliation Committee, which decided to present memorial to Colonial Secretary.
- June 16.** Addressed Johannesburg Indians' mass meeting, convened to appoint deputations to England and India; meeting authorized A.M. Cachalia, Hajee Habib, V.A. Chettiar and Gandhi to proceed to England; and N.A. Cama, N.G. Naidoo, E.S. Coovadia and H.S. Polak to India.
- June 16.** A.M. Cachalia, V.A. Chettiar, and E.S. Coovadia arrested. Cachalia and Chettiar sentenced to three months or fine of £50 each. BIA Chairman telegraphed Colonial Secretary requesting suspension of sentences of delegates.
- June 17.** Gopal Naidoo and other Tamil delegates to India arrested. Habibia Moslem Society, Cape Town, adopted resolution protesting against ill-treatment of British Indian Mohammedans in the Transvaal.
- June 18.** Colonial Secretary, rejecting BIA representation for suspension of sentences of delegates-designate, denied knowledge of their impending deputation abroad. Gandhi, in letter to *The Star*, repudiated Colonial Secretary's claim and asked whether it was too much for public to demand release of chosen Indian leaders.
- June 19.** Gandhi, in *Indian Opinion*, justified sending of deputations abroad; suggested meetings all over South Africa to express support for purpose of explaining movement and shortening struggle.  
Deputation of the Transvaal British Indian Conciliation Committee waited on Smuts.
- June 21.** Gandhi and Hajee Habib left for Cape Town on way to London.
- June 23.** In interview to *Cape Times* and *Cape Argus*, Gandhi apprehended ruin of Asiatics under Union unless Imperial Government secured safeguards.  
Embarked for England; Dr. Abdurrahman, President, African Political Organization, and leader of coloured people's deputation, Mr. Schreiner, among those on board.
- July 2.** Sir Curzon Wylie assassinated by Dhingra at reception of National Indian Association in Jehangir Hall, London. Dr. Lalkaka also killed.
- July 4.** Meeting of Indian women in Pretoria Location expressed indignation at arrest of some 70 Pretoria Indians.  
Swami Nagappan died soon after his release from jail.
- July 9.** Bengal Provincial Congress Committee proposed Gandhi's name as one of the three nominees for presidentship of forthcoming session of Indian National Congress.
- July 10.** Gandhi, along with Hajee Habib, arrived at Southampton; interviewed by Reuter. Reached London; interviewed by South Africa Association Press Agency.
- July 16.** Prepared draft "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case".



- July 23.** Wrote to Gokhale requesting help in Polak's work in India.
- July 26.** Gandhi and Hajee Habib had private interview with Lord Morley. Referred in letter to Lord Morley to prohibition of Indians from land-holding, riding on tramcars, as grievances apart from Act 2 of 1907 and restriction on immigration of educated Indians.
- July 29.** Gandhi, in letter of Lord Ampthill, denied any connection between the Transvaal passive resistance movement and "party of sedition" in India; suggested amendment of Immigration Law to give Immigration Officer power to admit only six Indians a year to Colony. Sent Lord Ampthill proofs of "Statement".  
Attended suffragette meeting at St. James' Hall. Met Mrs. Pankhurst. Deputation led by Schreiner on behalf of coloured people and natives waited on Liberal Labour Party in Commons; urged it to move amendments to Union Bill.
- July 31.** Natal delegation arrived in London. Polak reached Bombay.
- August 3.** In letter to *The Englishman*, Gandhi corrected misstatements about Registration Act, indenture system, etc.; stated that British Indians had been agitating for 15 years for abolition of indentured labour.
- August 4.** Repudiated categorically, in course of letter to Lord Ampthill, that the Transvaal passive resistance movement was "fomented" or financed from India or had anything to do with "party of violence" there.
- August 5.** Substantiated, in letter to Lord Ampthill, that question of educated Indians was no "new question".
- August 6.** Sent Lord Ampthill copies of "Statement" incorporating changes and additions suggested by him.
- August 9.** Gandhi and Lord Ampthill discussed Smuts' suggestions. Forwarded to him amendment to Immigration Restriction Act authorizing Governor to limit number of immigrants of any nationality.  
Natal Indian delegation submitted petition to Lord Crewe.  
Harilal Gandhi and others released at Heidelberg. Sorabjee Shapurji released from Diepkloof Prison.  
Sent Lord Ampthill proofs of his biography by Rev. Doke.
- August 10.** Lord Ampthill had talks with Smuts and Gandhi; later forwarded to Smuts amendment to Immigration Act and urged him to agree to repeal of Act and admission of six Indians a year.
- August 11.** Gandhi sought Lord Crewe's intervention to stop impending deportation of 100 British Indians.  
Wrote to Lord Ampthill that proposed amendment of Immigration Act did not constitute "a sacrifice of any important principles".
- August 12.** Natal Indian delegation informed by Lord Crewe that existing laws could not be repealed and conditions would improve after Union came into being.
- August 13.** Natal Indian delegation addressed letter to Viceroy of India forwarding statement of grievances.
- August 17.** Dhingra executed.
- August 20.** Wrote to Polak asking him to inquire in Bombay if his life insurance policy could be cancelled and premium paid recovered. In weekly dispatch to *Indian Opinion*, emphasized that Natal Indians would be free only through *satyagraha*.
- August 30.** Gandhi wrote to Swami Shankeranand deprecating his criticism of Islam.
- August 31.** Lord Ampthill wrote to Gandhi hoping he would not feel



bound to continue passive resistance and suggested that Gandhi clarify to Lord Crewe position in regard to "right" of entry.

**September 1.** Gandhi informed Lord Ampthill that Smuts' proposal only accentuated racial insult, and that he could not recede from position as to question of "right."

**September 2.** Sought clarification from Lord Crewe of Smuts' interview to Reuter indicating settlement.

**September 6.** In letter to Ameer Ali declared his life devoted to demonstrating that Hindu-Muslim co-operation was indispensable condition to Indians' salvation.

**September 7.** Wrote to Khushalchand Gandhi that all Phoenix activities were religious.

**September 8.** In communication to Colonial Office stressed that he had "avoided all public activity, in order not to prejudice negotiations".

**September 10.** In letter to Colonial Office, repudiated Smuts' statement to Reuter that majority of Indians had submitted to Registration Act; asserted that strength of Indian opposition still remained unabated. Deprecated suffragettes' resort to violence and declared that Indians should "never forsake the sword of *satyagraha*".

**September 16.** Gandhi and Hajee Habib had interview with Lord Crewe; expressed readiness to give undertaking that, if theoretical right of entry conceded, there would be no further agitation.

**September 17.** Gandhi sent Polak copy of his 'substance of interview' with Lord Crewe.

In letter to Manilal Gandhi, observed that "body should not be dearer than the soul" and he "would have preferred Kasturba's passing away without the [beef] soup; but would not have allowed it to be given to her without her consent".

Drafted letter to London Branch of All-India Moslem League concerning the Transvaal Government's refusal of *Ramzan* facilities to Muslim prisoners.

**September 18.** Represented to Lord Morley that denial of *Ramzan* facilities to Muslim prisoners would be an attack on their religion. Wrote to Lord Ampthill requesting to enlist Sir George Farrar's active sympathy to avoid unfavourable reply from Smuts; in latter case, felt public activity by deputation necessary.

**September 23.** Proposed to Polak the institution of prize for best essay on passive resistance from India.

**September 29.** Smuts denied, in a minute, deportation of any Asiatic domiciled in Orange River Colony from the Transvaal to India; asked that Gandhi might furnish evidence of any such case.

**October, 1.** Gandhi wrote to Tolstoy regarding passive resistance movement in the Transvaal and Tolstoy's "*Letter to a Hindoo*".

**October 4.** Colonial Office informed Gandhi that initiative rested with Colonial Government whether to undertake fresh legislation on lines proposed by Smuts.

**October 5.** Gandhi wrote to Lord Ampthill of his desire to undertake some public activity for educating influential quarters about the Transvaal situation.

Addressing meeting of Gujaratis in London, advised them to cultivate love for their own language.

**October 6.** In letter to Polak emphasized need for India to see the Transvaal



struggle as part of her own movement for freedom and to help it.

**October 7.** Tolstoy replied to Gandhi's letter of October 1.

**October 8.** Gandhi, in speech at Emerson Club, extolled the way of suffering.

Ordered printing of 2,000 copies of "Concise Statement of the Transvaal Indian Case". In message to *Gujarati Punch*, stressed his complete preoccupation with "the life and death struggle" in the Transvaal.

**October 12.** Writing to Manilal Gandhi, discounted mere academic education, declared "learning to live a good life is in itself education".

**October 14.** In letter to Lord Ampthill, asserted that cessation of passive resistance was impossible "unless the theoretical right was granted".

Wrote to Polak expressing his views on modern civilization, later elaborated in *Hind Swaraj*.

**October 25.** Indian Immigration Law Amendment Bill read for third time in Natal Legislative Assembly.

**October 29.** Gandhi informed Lord Ampthill of decision to leave for South Africa and to challenge arrest on the Transvaal border.

Sought interview with Aylmer Maude to discuss matters relating to passive resistance; asked for advice regarding publication of Tolstoy's "*Letter to a Hindoo*".

**October 30.** Spoke at meeting of Indian Union Society. Conveyed to Lord Ampthill his views on Indian nationalist movement and modern civilization.

**November 1.** Harilal Gandhi arrested at Volksrust, sentenced again to six months.

**November 2.** Gandhi addressed meeting in London. Several Indians and some Britishers enrolled as volunteers.

**November 3.** Colonial Office informed Gandhi of Lord Crewe's inability "to hold out any hopes of obtaining recognition of theoretical equality as to immigration or otherwise".

**November 5.** Gandhiji released "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case," along with summary, to Press.

Attended meeting of British sympathisers.

**November 6.** In valedictory letter to Colonial Office, expressed a hope that Lord Crewe would still use his influence to secure removal of colour bar from the Transvaal immigration laws.

**November 9.** Addressed meeting of Indians in London. Interviewed by Reuter. *The Times* reported failure of negotiations on the Transvaal Asiatic legislation.

**November 10.** In interview to *The Daily Express*, Gandhi stated that passive resistance campaign would continue "with unabated vigour".

**November 11.** Addressed letter to the *Daily Telegraph* urging British Press to support the Transvaal struggle.

In letter to Gokhale, invited him to visit South Africa and to participate in struggle.

Wrote to Colonial Office asserting that complaints about the Transvaal prison condition were substantially true.

**November 12.** Released "Statement" to Indian Press.

Addressed farewell meeting, convened by Rev. F.B. Meyer, and attended, among others, by Dr. Rutherford, Sir Raymond West, Sir Frederick Lely, Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggee, Motilal Nehru and L.W. Ritch.

**November 13.** The Transvaal Indian deputation (Gandhi and Hajee Habib)

left England for South Africa.

Attempt on life of Lord Minto, Viceroy of India, at Ahmedabad.

**November 13 to 22.** Gandhi wrote *Hind Swaraj* in Gujarati on board s.s. *Kildonan Castle*.

**November 15.** Arrangements for Morley-Minto Reforms coming into force were published by Government of India.

**November 18.** Gandhi wrote in Gujarati a preface to Tolstoy's *Letter to a Hindoo*.

**November 19.** Wrote in English a preface to Tolstoy's *Letter to a Hindoo*.

**November 30.** Arrived at Cape Town with Hajee Habib. Interview to *Cape Argus*.

Cabled Gokhale thanking Ratan J. Tata for donation of Rs. 25,000 in aid of the Transvaal struggle.

**December 2.** Arrived at Johannesburg. In interview to Reuter at Park Station, thanked Government for allowing his and Hajee Habib's re-entry into the Transvaal.

**December 3.** Addressed meeting of Tamil ladies in Johannesburg.

**December 5.** Spoke at Johannesburg mass meeting to welcome the deputation. Praised Hosken's Committee and European friends for support. Meeting resolved "to carry on the struggle by means of self-suffering.... until legal and theoretical equality as to immigration of British Indians of culture with the other immigrants is restored".

**December 6.** Wrote to Gokhale on financial and other aspects of the Transvaal struggle and asked for £1,000 more.

**December 22.** Entered the Transvaal from Natal with Manilal Gandhi, Royeppen and others, but not arrested.

**December 24.** Wrote to A. H. West on financial and other aspects of Phoenix scheme.

**December 25.** Congratulated Justice Ameer Ali on appointment as Privy Councillor.

**December 29.** Indian National Congress at Lahore passed resolution expressing admiration for struggle in South Africa and urging prohibition of indenture.

## 1910

**January 1.** *Indian Opinion* reduced in size for financial reasons.

**January 6.** Rev. Charles Phillips and J. C. Gibson had interview with Gandhi following their conversations with Lord Selborne, High Commissioner of the Transvaal.

In letter to J. C. Gibson, Gandhi refuted charge that South African movement was engineered and controlled from India and the British Indians continually shifted their ground regarding their demands.

**January 13.** Gokhale wrote to Gandhi that disposal of the sums remitted was left to the latter's discretion.

**January 20.** Natal Legislative Assembly passed Indian Immigration (Licences) Act Amendment Bill.

**February 9.** In Gandhi's office Mrs. Amacanoo and Mrs. Packirsamy took off their ornaments, vowing not to wear them till struggle was over.

**February 12.** Writing in *Indian Opinion* regarding aid for the Transvaal Satyagraha Fund Committee, Gandhi stated: "A cheque for £250 has been received from Rangoon and according to Dr. Mehta, Secretary



of the Fund Committee there, there is a possibility of our receiving something more. Going through the particulars of the contribution I find that several Chinese traders have also subscribed. According to a resolution of the Rangoon Committee, this money should be spent only towards the relief of the poor *satyagrahis* or those in distress.

"Including this sum, a total amount of £3923-3-4 has been received so far. If this sum of £250 is deducted from this total, the rest represents the amount remitted by Mr. Jenhangir B. Petit on behalf of Prof. Gokhale. We have not received detailed information about how this was collected; we are yet to know in what manner, apart from the sum of Rs. 25,000 donated by Mr. Ratan Tata, the remaining amount was raised."

**February 14.** Gandhi spoke at Chinese reception at Cantonese Club, Johannesburg, in honour of Rev. J. J. Doke, on eve of latter's departure for America.

**February 18.** Spoke at banquet in Masonic Hall in honour of Rev. Doke.

**February 20.** Addressed meeting of Natal Indian Congress in Durban.

**February 23.** Explained the Transvaal struggle at meeting of Kathiawad Arya Mandal, Durban.

**February 26.** Wrote in *Indian Opinion*, supporting the resolve of Dr. Abdur Rahman and Cape coloured people in view of their disfranchisement to observe day of Prince of Wales' arrival as day of mourning.

Spoke at Durban Indian Society meeting in honour of passive resisters.

**March. 11.** Accompanied a number of passive resisters to the Transvaal to violate immigration laws.

In letter to Moulvi Ahmed Mukhtiar, explained that Phoenix debt was incurred during struggle.

**March 17.** Told *The Star* representative that Indians had come to Johannesburg not to assert their personal rights, but to take part in struggle.

President and Secretaries of Natal Indian Congress forwarded petition to Colonial Secretary against Immigration Law Amendment Bill.

**April 4.** Letter to Leo Tolstoy, with copy of *Indian Home Rule* for comment.

**April 25.** Wrote to Gokhale indicating how Passive Resistance Fund was being used.

**April 25.** In letter to G. K. Gokhale furnishing accounts of the Satyagraha Fund, Gandhi gave a breakdown of the money obtained since December last was as follows:

				s.	d.
From Bombay	..	..	..	4,253-	3-4
From Rangoon	..	..	..	750-	0-0
From London	..	..	..	135-	8-2
From Mozambique	..	..	..	50-	0-0
From Loureneo Marques	..	..	..	11-	12-0
From Natal	..	..	..	8-	16-0
Local	..	..	..	1-	7-7
Total				5,269-	10-7

Gandhi also informed Gokhale that the funds were banked to a separate account called the Passive Resistance Fund Account in Natal Bank.

In the same letter Gandhi informed Gokhale: "The Phoenix debt represented a personal debt by me from European friends and clients by reason of necessity of having to continue *Indian Opinion* under

somewhat adverse circumstances and at a loss in the interest of struggle. I have devoted to the continuance of *Indian Opinion* and the establishment of Phoenix all my earnings during my last stay in South Africa, that is, nearly £5,000. I desire no pecuniary benefit from Phoenix, the support of my family and myself being found by a European friend" (named Herman Kallenbach).

**May 8.** Leo Tolstoy, in letter to Gandhi, commenting upon *Indian Home Rule*, said question of passive resistance was of greater importance not only for India but for all humanity.

**May 10.** Replying to letter from W. J. Wýbergh, M.L.A., of the Transvaal Gandhi defended views expressed in *Indian Home Rule*.

**May 30.** Wrote to H. Kallenbach expressing thanks for offer of farm near Lawley for use of passive resisters and their families for duration of the Transvaal struggle. Kallenbach called it Tolstoy Farm.

**June 1.** Union of South Africa came into being.

**June 2.** In letter to Press, Gandhi said advent of Union was no cause for rejoicing and described it as "a combination of hostile forces" arrayed against Asiatics.

**June 4.** Kallenbach and Gandhi settled on the Tolstoy Farm.

**July 3.** Gandhi appealed for gifts to help settlers at Tolstoy Farm.

**July 21.** Natal *Government Gazette* published rules framed under Indian Immigration Law, 1891 requiring employers of indentured Indian immigrants to provide shelter for children of Indian women working in fields. Gandhi paid tribute to G. A. Natesan for his work for passive resisters deported to India.

**July 30.** Gandhi commented on Churchill's statement in Commons that he had given instructions that all persons imprisoned as passive resisters or as suffragettes should be spared unnecessary degradation.

**August 6.** Transmitting Lord Morley's communication of July 22 to Lord Gladstone, Secretary of State for Colonies said that anything offending religious susceptibilities of Indians must be a serious and permanent obstacle to a settlement.

**August 15.** Gandhi wrote a letter to Tolstoy.

**September 7.** Tolstoy wrote to Gandhi, supporting passive resistance.

**September 17.** Gandhi left for Durban to receive Polak and other passive resister deportees from India.

**September 26.** Spoke at a meeting of colonial-born Indians.

Spoke at Kathiawad Arya Mandal meeting organized to discuss question of welcoming deportees.

Blue Book issued dealing with Asiatic legislation in the Transvaal up to August 9, 1910.

**September 28.** Gandhi met Polak, who reached Durban along with other deportees from India by *S. S. Sultan*.

**October 5.** Gandhi and others spoke at reception by Kathiawad Arya Mandal, Durban, in honour of Polak and passive resisters.

**October 8.** Gandhi wrote to Minister of Interior in connection with landing of deportees.

**October 16.** Death of Narayansami due to hardships of deportation.

**After October 16.** In letter to SABIC, Gandhi described death of Narayansami as "legalized murder".

**November 9.** Spoke at Chinese function in honour of Ritch and Polak.



**November 14.** Smuts moved for second reading of Bill to consolidate and amend laws regarding naturalization of aliens.

**November 20.** Death of Leo Tolstoy.

**December 4.** Gandhi spoke at Socialist Hall, Johannesburg, on Tolstoy and his message.

**December 9.** In a letter, thanked G. A. Natesan for securing donations and rendering help to deportees.

**December 27.** Indian National Congress at Allahabad passed resolution expressing admiration for the Transvaal Indians' struggle, urging Government of India to prohibit recruitment of indentured labour and protesting against South African policy as unwise, unrighteous and dangerous to the Empire.

## 1911

**January 3.** In Viceroy's Legislative Council at Calcutta, Indian Government announced decision to prohibit further emigration of indentured Indians to Natal. Gokhale expressed gratitude.

**January 7.** Natal Indian Congress thanked Government of India and Gokhale for ending recruitment of indentured labour for South Africa.

**January 30.** In banquet speech at Guildhall, London, Duke of Connaught expressed hope of early settlement of question of Indians in South Africa.

**February 1.** New regulations of South African Railways came into force.

**February 14.** Minister of Interior turned down request of Natal Indian Congress to alter Natal law and exempt Indian women from payment of £ 3 tax.

**February 20.** Chairman, BIA, wrote against new railway regulations to Acting General Manager, South African Railways.

**February 25.** Union of South African *Government Gazette Extraordinary* published text of Immigrants' Restriction Bill (1911).

Indentured Indian labourers of an estate-owner at Stanger offered passive resistance.

**March 2.** First reading of Immigrants' Restriction Bill. In letter to P.S. to Minister of Interior, Gandhi sought clarification whether under Section 1 of new Bill, Asiatics who might pass education test could enter and remain in the Transvaal without being liable to take out registration under Act 36 of 1908.

**March 4.** Lane (P.S. to Smuts) in reply to Gandhi's letter stated that Asiatics admitted as immigrants under new Immigration Bill "would not fall under registration laws and would not be restricted to provincial limits".

In letter to Lane, Gandhi requested that new Bill be so amended in Committee as to make the assurance given "absolutely clear".

He also sought legal protection for wives and minor children of registered Asiatics.

**March 9.** Natal Indian Congress meeting passed resolution against Immigration Bill.

**March 12.** Mass meeting of Indians at Cape Town protested against Immigration Bill.

**March 15.** Petitions of the Cape, Natal and the Transvaal Indians presented to Parliament.

**March 18.** In telegram sent by Acting Chairman, Chinese Association,

to Secretary to Minister of Interior, the Chinese joined hands with BIA in request for amendment of Immigrants' Restriction Bill to Remove colour or racial bar, to afford protection to wives and minor children of legal residents and to provide for entry of a limited number of cultured Chinese into Union.

**March 20.** Gandhi sent telegram and wrote p to P.S. to Smuts regarding relief under new Immigration Bill. Natal Indian Congress in telegram to Minister of Interior opposed amendment to new Bill imposing racial bar against entry into Orange Free State of Asiatics admitted into Union under education test.

**March 21.** Lane telegraphed Gandhi that Smuts would favourably consider question of providing for women and children of persons lawfully resident, but regarded Gandhi's attitude on Free State question as "unfair".

**March 22.** Gandhi telegraphed reply to P.S. to Minister of Interior on Free State question.

**March 23.** European British Indian Committee meeting at Johannesburg approved Gandhi's latest correspondence with Minister of Interior regarding new Immigration Bill and urged Government to accept proposed solution.

**March 24.** P.S. to Smuts informed Gandhi that there would be "no colour or racial bar of any kind whatsoever appearing in Immigration Bill or any amendment which the Government intend to move". Regarding Orange Free State, Smuts proposed leaving situation as it was under existing law of Province.

In telegram to P.S. to Smuts, Gandhi said racial bar would certainly be created if educated Asiatic immigrants were, upon entering Orange Free State, confronted with Asiatic registration law.

**March 25.** Left for Cape Town.

**March 26.** Durban mass meeting under auspices of Natal Indian Congress protested against new Immigration Bill.

**March 27.** Gandhi interviewed Smuts at Cape Town.

**March 29.** Natal Indian Congress in telegram to Finance Minister protested against new Poll-tax Bill.

In letter to Lane, Gandhi said amendments to be moved, regarding domicile, marriage and parental relationship, by Smuts to Immigration Bill requiring evidence to be furnished to immigration officer might "open the door to favouritism, corruption and bribery".

**March 30.** Gandhi spoke at meeting of Cape Town United Hindu Association held in honour of L.W. Ritch and himself.

**April 1.** Government of India issued notification prohibiting recruitment of indentured labour for South Africa with effect from July 1, 1911.

**April 2.** Gandhi attended meeting of Cape British Indian Union held to demand changes in Union Immigrants' Restriction Bill so as to protect Cape rights.

**April 6.** In Union Parliament, T.L. Schreiner asked for abolition of £13 tax consequent upon the stoppage of indenture. General Smuts, answering, refused to interfere and informed House that attitude in India being discouraging very few indentured Indians might come to Natal before July 1.

**April 15.** L.W. Ritch commenced legal practice in Gandhi's Johannesburg Office.



**April 19.** Smuts, in interview, told Gandhi he would pass UIRB in current or following session; explained why "we do not want Asia to come in" and appealed for peace; asked Gandhi to agree to the Governor-General having power to make regulations regarding education test.

In letter to Smuts, Gandhi urged him to settle the question of the entry of six educated Indians a year so that passive resistance could be suspended.

**April 22.** Gandhi, in letter, informed Lane that passive resistance could be suspended provided Smuts gave certain assurances.

Smuts, in reply to above, expressed intention to introduce legislation, during following session, which would: (a) repeal Act 2 of 1907, subject to reservation of rights of minor children; (b) give legal equality for all immigrants; (c) empower registration of passive resisters who, but for their resistance, would have been entitled to it, anything under Act 36 of 1908 notwithstanding; (d) empower the regulation of issue of temporary certificates to educated passive resisters (not more than five or six) then in the Transvaal. Smuts added that if Gandhi gave assurance of suspension of passive resistance, he would ask Governor-General to favourably consider releasing passive resistance prisoners.

**April 24.** Gandhi, speaking at Kimberley meeting of Indians, said they were "nearing a solution of the difficult question".

**April 25.** Smuts withdrew UIRB in Union Assembly.

**April 26.** Gandhi returned to Johannesburg.

**April 27.** At meeting of Indians in Johannesburg, Gandhi explained correspondence with Smuts regarding Provisional Settlement and advised acceptance of proposals. Meeting decided: (a) to call off passive resistance if Smuts fulfilled his pledges; (b) to send H.S.L. Polak to England in place of Gandhi and A.M. Cachalia.

*Indian Opinion* announced that Transvaal Chinese had also decided to accept proposals for Provisional Settlement.

**April 28.** Gandhi, in interview to *The Star* about Provisional Settlement, announced intention to retire from public life after finalization of Settlement.

**April 29.** Gandhi met Lane.

Gave, in letter to Lane, British Indians' interpretation, of the terms of the Settlement and sought Smuts' confirmation; made request for R.M. Sodha being allowed to register, for reinstatement of a government servant, who had been removed for passive resistance, for release of Chinese prisoners, etc.

**May 4.** Wrote to Lane regarding categories of Indians and Chinese who might apply for voluntary registration. Wrote to A.E. Chotabhai thanking him for £300 sent for professional services in connection with his son's case and saying he intended to hand over Phoenix to trustees and would use the sum for school there.

**Before May 8.** Harilal Gandhi left home without informing father.

**May 8.** Gandhi wrote to H.S.L. Polak giving him estimate of expenses for his visit to England and India and telling him of Smuts' favourable response to demands of passive resisters.

**May 15.** Harilal Gandhi returned to Tolstoy Farm from Delagoa Bay.

**Before May 18.** Harilal Gandhi left home finally for India.

**May 18.** Gandhi wrote to Minister of Interior asking for Smuts' answer



to his proposals regarding Provisional Settlement contained in his letter of April 29, 1911.

**May 19.** Smuts informed Gandhi that:

- (a) passive resisters with valid claims to registration but deported under TARA or TARAA, could apply for registration by December 31, 1911;
- (b) Asiatics with valid claims to registration, who left South Africa owing to passive resistance, though not deported, could apply for registration provided both of above categories did not exceed 30;
- (c) about 180 Chinese and Indians in South Africa, refused registration under the voluntary system, could apply by December 31, 1911;
- (d) the seven educated Indians now in the Transvaal named by Gandhi would receive temporary authorization for residence pending alteration of law, when permanent documents would be issued.

Smuts also expressed the hope that the Asiatic community would regard acceptance of requests as final settlement and said that on hearing from Gandhi passive resistance prisoners would be released.

Gandhi, in reply to above, said 180 Asiatic passive resisters included also those who could not apply under either the voluntary system or any of the Asiatic laws; construed absence of disclaimer to terms of Provisional Settlement as set forth in his letter of April 29 as endorsement thereof and requested telegraphic reply.

Wrote to Gokhale apprising him of good results secured by passive resistance and of the hardships of Indians in the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape.

**May 20.** Smuts in telegram to Gandhi informed him that:

- (a) 180 Asiatics included also those who failed to apply in time on grounds of three years' pre-war residence in the Transvaal;
- (b) existing individual rights would not be taken away but various provinces would be affected by future general and uniform legislation;
- (c) well-known or educated registered Asiatics need not give thumb or finger-impressions for taking out licences.

Gandhi, in reply, conveyed acceptance of the Provisional Settlement on behalf of the BIA and gave list of passive resisters to be released.

**May 23.** Gandhi, in interview to Reuter, explained Provisional Settlement.

**May 26.** Drafted letter to Registrar of Asiatics enclosing list of Chinese entitled to register under Provisional Settlement and also names of three Mohammedans for special certificates.

**May 27.** Writing in *Indian Opinion*, expressed satisfaction at Provisional Settlement but warned that passive resistance would be resumed if Smuts did not keep his promise to repeal TARA and amend TIRA or if fresh anti-Asiatic legislation was introduced.

**May 31.** Gandhi wrote to G. A. Natesan expressing satisfaction with Provisional Settlement and praising Natesan's work.

**June 3.** Gandhi, writing in *Indian Opinion*, set forth the achievements of *satyagraha* to date.

**June 21.** Gandhi, along with Natal Indian leaders, met Mayor of Durban regarding Coronation celebrations.

**June 22.** Coronation of King George V at Westminster Abbey. In Durban, Indians boycotted celebrations.

**June 24.** Gandhi, writing in *Indian Opinion*, affirmed loyalty to the King.

**June 30.** Justice Wessels of the Transvaal Division of Supreme Court, in a



judgment, ruled that no Indian could bring more than one wife into the country and "that must be a woman who actually was a wife".

**After July 1.** Wrote to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta seeking monetary assistance to the extent of £1,000 for expanding activities at Phoenix.

**July 8.** Gandhi, discussed in *Indian Opinion*, Justice Wessels' ruling and said it was not possible to have in British Dominions laws insulting to any recognized religion.

**July 31.** Farewell address signed by Gandhi and A.M. Cachalia presented to H. Kallenbach on his departure for Europe.

**August 5.** Gandhi, writing in *Indian Opinion*, advised Natal Indians to help Dr. Murison's campaign against tuberculosis in Durban.

**August 12.** Wrote to Secretary for Interior saying he would try to complete by August 21, 1911, list of passive resisters covered by Provisional Settlement.

Writing in *Indian Opinion* on notice served on L.W. Ritch under Gold Law, called on Indians to remain firm.

**August 13.** Addressing BIA meeting in Johannesburg, explained that L.W. Ritch was prepared to face imprisonment to protect Indians' rights of equitable ownership in Krugersdorp.

**August 19.** Writing in *Indian Opinion*, congratulated L.W. Ritch and the Transvaal Indians on their decision to resist Government's attempts to oust Indian merchants under Gold Law and Townships Act.

**August 21.** Forwarded to Registrar of Asiatics revised, though not yet final, list of Indians covered by Provisional Settlement.

**September 3.** Addressed meeting at Johannesburg held to celebrate Dadabhai Naoroji's birthday.

**September 9.** Writing to Maganlal Gandhi, declared that money spent by individuals in constructing houses on their share of Phoenix land could not be returned to them.

**September 16.** In Durban, Natal Indian leaders formed "The Anti-£ 3 Tax League".

**September 23.** Gandhi, writing in *Indian Opinion*, welcomed decision of Germiston Indians to oppose move by Town Council to prohibit their trading in Georgetown Location.

**September 24.** In letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, said he was preparing himself for work in India.

**September 30.** Wrote in *Indian Opinion* regarding Natal Indian Congress inquiry whether he could preside at the forthcoming session of Indian National Congress, and his conditional willingness.

**October 7.** Wrote, in letter to Harilal Gandhi, of invitation to preside at the Indian National Congress.

**October 10.** Wrote to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta saying it was not clear from whom the invitation to preside at the Indian National Congress had come, but he had accepted it on condition that his presence was really necessary and his freedom was not compromised. Said he would go to India the moment matters were settled in South Africa.

**October 22.** Informed Dr. Mehta that the cable regarding presidentship was inquiry, not invitation.

**October 24.** Wrote to Gokhale, requesting help for Manilal Doctor in his efforts against indenture system.

**October 30.** Wrote to Gokhale inviting him to visit South Africa; also

explained misunderstanding over presidentship of Indian National Congress.

**November 11.** In *Indian Opinion*, expressed resolve to fight tooth and nail against £3 tax; also called for funds to help the famine-stricken in India.

**November 14.** *Indian Opinion* published Reuter's news that, Gandhi having withdrawn, Pandit Bishen Narayan Dhar would be elected President of Indian National Congress.

**November 18.** Gandhi, in *Indian Opinion*, condemned as breach of faith, Natal Governments' attempt to realize £3 tax from re-indentured Indians after their circular of April, 1910, granting exemption.

Natal Indian Congress wrote to Minister of Justice requesting him to abide by Government circular of April, 1910, and not realize £3 tax from re-indentured Indians.

**November 25.** Gandhi, in *Indian Opinion*, called on Natal Indians to take steps for abolition of £3 tax.

**December 7.** In letter to Lane, suggested that if general legislation could not be passed in the current session of Union Parliament, TIRA should be amended.

**December 8.** In letter, renewed invitation to Gokhale, to visit South Africa.

**December 9.** Writing in *Indian Opinion*, asked Indians to contribute liberally to Famine Relief Fund.

**December 20.** Spoke at Chinese rally in Johannesburg to pay homage to Alex Benson.

**December 22.** Gandhi saw draft of UIRB (1912)

## 1912

**January 12.** Gandhi, in letter to Gokhale, welcomed his forthcoming visit to South Africa.

L.W. Ritch received legal notice to deliver title-deed and possession of Boksburg Stands to Government in cancellation of his ownership.

**January 13.** Gandhi, in *Indian Opinion*, warned Indians not to conceal cases of smallpox.

**January 18.** Durban Indians formed Plague Committee to help Public Health Department.

**January 29.** Gandhi wrote to Lane saying the gazetted version of UIRB (1912) differed somewhat from the draft he had seen; discussed Sections 5, 7, 25 and 28.

Abdoolla Hajee Adam, founder-president of Natal Indian Congress, died.

**January 30.** First reading of UIRB (1912) in Union Assembly. Gandhi wired Smuts regarding Sections 5, 7, 25 and 28. Received reply to above that second reading of Bill was not until February 8 and matters mentioned were being considered.

**January 31.** In wire to Gandhi, Secretary for Interior upheld Sections 5, 7, 25 and 28 of Bill.

**February 1.** Gandhi wired Lane expressing dissatisfaction with reply of January 31 and requesting alterations in Sections 7 and 8. Said he was refraining from public action pending reply.

**February 3.** Writing in *Indian Opinion* on the Bill, said it did not quite fulfil Smuts' promise. Criticized provisions vesting power in immigration officer to determine domiciliary rights of wives and minors, taking away



right of judicial appeal and disturbing existing rights of interprovincial movement of educated persons.

Wired Cape British Indian Union to pass resolutions against these provisions.

**February 7.** Secretary for Interior replied to Gandhi's wire of February 1, saying the Bill nowhere excluded appeal to law courts; system of domicile certificates all over Union was quite impossible; Section 8 of the Bill regarding sworn declaration required in OFS was being considered. Appealed to Gandhi to persuade his compatriots to accept Bill.

In reply to above, Gandhi wired asking for amendment in Bill to secure existing legal rights regarding interprovincial immigration of educated Asiatics; said he would still postpone public action pending reply.

**February 8.** Smuts replied that he hoped to give satisfactory assurances regarding above.

Gandhi wired that nothing short of assurance of retaining existing legal position would do. Reserved right to criticize Bill regarding other features not covered by Provisional Settlement.

**February 10.** Gandhi writing in *Indian Opinion*, severely criticized UIRB (1912) for its policy of Asiatic exclusion and for interfering with vested rights. Hoped Government would sympathetically consider Indian protests.

**February 15.** Wrote to Lane that he still awaited reply and that he intended to take legal opinion regarding UIRB (1912) in matter of appeal to law courts.

Wrote to R. Gregorowski seeking legal opinion on certain provisions of the Bill.

**February 21.** Telegraphed Registrar of Asiatics regarding visiting permits for Khoja representatives of the Aga Khan.

**February 22.** L.W. Ritch and A.M. Bhyat summoned by Supreme Court in connection with the Boksburg Stands.

**February 24.** Gandhi wrote to Lane informing him of Counsel's opinion that UIRB (1912) ousted jurisdiction of law courts, except by way of *mandamus* and took away certain existing rights; requested that the defects might be remedied.

**March 16.** Gandhi, writing in *Indian Opinion*, commended Gokhale's efforts to get resolution on total abolition of indenture passed in the Imperial Legislative Council.

**April 1.** In public letter to Ratan Tata, gave account of receipts and expenditure of Passive Resistance funds.

**May 14.** Letter from Lane enclosing proposed change in Section 28 of UIRB (1912) and informing Gandhi of Smuts' intention to settle the question of domicile.

**May 16.** Gandhi criticized the Transvaal Provincial Council's decision to refuse separate school for Indians at Johannesburg.

In House of Commons, question asked regarding quit notice served on Germiston Indians; Colonial Secretary expressed inability to interfere.

**June 1.** Writing in *Indian Opinion* on "An Unfortunate Case," Gandhi described the cruel treatment of an indentured Indian woman by her employer and condemned the whole indenture system.

**June 24.** Union Parliament prorogued until September 23, 1912, and Bill shelved.

**June 25.** Gandhi telegraphed Secretary for Interior enquiring about



Government's intentions regarding the Bill and future of Provisional Settlement in view of prorogation of Parliament.

**June 29.** Arrived in Durban.

Spoke at Durban farewell to Dawad Mahomed and other Haj pilgrims.

**July 5.** Left Durban for Johannesburg.

**July 6.** Wrote to Lane enquiring about Government's intentions regarding UIRB (1912) and future of Provisional Settlement.

**July 7.** Arrived in Johannesburg from Durban.

**July 16.** Informed by Acting Secretary for Interior that Government would introduce amended measure next session; meanwhile, administration of existing legislation would continue.

**July 17.** In reply to Secretary for Interior, said he understood Provisional Settlement would continue pending passage of satisfactory legislation and therefore a certain number of educated Asiatics would be admitted for the year; would submit names on confirmation.

**July 25.** Gokhale cabled Gandhi that he would sail from England for South Africa on October 5.

**July 30.** Gokhale appointed member of Royal Commission on Indian Public Services.

**August 1.** Gandhi spoke at banquet given by Johannesburg Tamil community to V. A. Chettiar.

Ratan Tata made a third donation of Rs. 25,000 towards Passive Resistance Fund.

**August 11.** Returned to Tolstoy Farm.

**August 17.** Writing in *Indian Opinion*, drew attention of Indians to report of a second outbreak of smallpox in Johannesburg and called for help to Dr. Porter in fighting the disease.

**August 22.** Spoke at Johannesburg Theosophical Lodge.

In interview to *The Transvaal Leader*, opposed compulsory segregation of coloured races as measure to check smallpox.

**August 25.** Spoke at BIA meeting held to arrange welcome to Gokhale; announced the Aga Khan's intention to visit South and East Africa.

**September 7.** In *Indian Opinion*, commended work done by H. S. L. Polak in India.

**September 14** Phoenix Trust Deed published in *Indian Opinion*, as a result of which Gandhi ceased to be the sole legal owner of the concern known as International Printing Press, where *Indian Opinion* was printed. In schedule A 3, the total value of the assets was assessed £5,1130-4-5. Gandhi had donated all his earlier earnings (£5,000) for the continuance of the *Indian Opinion* and the establishment of Phoenix.

Announced discontinuance of advertisements in *Indian Opinion*.

Left for Johannesburg.

**October 5.** Gokhale left England for South Africa.

**October 22.** Gokhale arrived in Cape Town on a tour of South Africa with the knowledge of the Indian Government but entirely on his own initiative to investigate the whole Indian question in South Africa for himself. Gandhi chalked out Gokhale's tour programme and accompanied him throughout the tour till November 29, 1912 when Gokhale left for India.

**October 27.** Indian reception at Constantia Hall.

In evening, Gokhale and Gandhi left Kimberley at 6 p. m. Presentation



of addresses at Windsortor, Christiana and Bloemhof. Leading Europeans present at all these places.

**October 31.** Banquet at Masonic Hall by BIA, with the Mayor presiding. Speeches by Mayor Ellis, William Hosken, Patrick Duncan, J. J. Doke L. W. Ritch, Gokhale and Gandhi.

**November 2.** Gokhale and Gandhi left for Tolstoy Farm.

**November 3.** Gandhi wrote to Srinivasa Sastri regarding Gokhale's visit and his proposed departure for India.

**November 5.** Gokhale, with Gandhi, returned to Johannesburg after two days' rest at Tolstoy Farm.

**November 8.** Discussed Indians' grievances at meeting in Indian High School.

Interview with Licensing Officer.

In the afternoon, left by special train for Durban. Received at Durban station by Mayor, Chief Magistrate and others. Procession to Mr. Moosa's house. In the evening, reception at Town Hall, with Mayor presiding. Speeches by Mayor and others. Addresses presented.

**November 10.** In the morning, heard grievances of £3 tax-payers at meeting at Lord's ground.

In the afternoon went by special train to Isipingok returning at 5 p. m.

In the evening, motored to Phoenix.

**November 11.** Left Phoenix in the afternoon and returned to Durban.

**November 14.** In the morning, had interview with Ministers-Botha, Smuts and Fischer.

**November 26.** On board ship, Gandhi promised Gokhale he would not leave for India without arranging for work to be carried on in South Africa. In his absence affairs would probably be left in Polak's hands.

**November 27.** Arrived in Zanibzar.

**November 28.** Gokhale, Gandhi and Kallenbach sailed by *S. S. President*

**November 29.** In the morning, reached Tongaat.

In the afternoon, parted from Gokhale.

Gandhi and H. Kallenbach boarded *S. S. Trebora*, travelling deck class.

**November 30.** Gandhi and H. Kallenbach reached Zanzibar.

**December 1.** Reached Dar-es-Salaam. Landed. Gandhi wore Indian dress.

**December 13.** Gandhi arrived in Delagoa Bay. Detained before being permitted to land.

Gokhale reached Bombay.

**December 14.** Gandhi arrived in Johannesburg and went to Lawley.

**December 18.** Left for Durban.

**December 28.** Gokhale's resolution demanding total abolition of indenture system passed at Indian National Congress at Bankipore.

Writing in *Indian Opinion*, Gandhi condemned terrorist's attempt at Delhi on Lord Harding's life.

## 1913

**January 12.** Gandhi left for Durban.

**January 14.** Arrived in Johannesburg.

Writing in *Indian Opinion*, commended Gokhale's speeches on South



African Indian problem at Bombay and at Indian National Congress at Bankipore.

**January 11.** Contribution of Rs. 2,500 by Nizam of Hyderabad to Passive Resistance funds announced in *Indian Opinion*.

**Before January 18.** Gandhi and school shifted from Tolstoy Farm to Phoenix.

**January 18.** *Indian Opinion* announced Gandhi's decision to go to India about the middle of the year, if expected Immigration Bill was passed in forthcoming session of Parliament.

Gandhi wrote in *Indian Opinion* of Government's failure to keep their promise regarding British Indians entitled to residence in the Transvaal or Union and hinted at possibility of a conflagration in the community.

**February 7.** In Union Assembly, Minister of Finance stated that repeal of £3 tax on Indians was still under consideration.

**February 14.** Gandhi in letter to Gokhale, mentioned that, owing to internal troubles in Botha cabinet, the promised legislation would again be postponed; if so, he would not be able to leave for India about the middle of the year. Said ministers were not carrying out their assurances and Immigration Acts were being administered with ever-growing severity.

**March 3.** In Union Parliament, Financial Relations Bill, mentioning proposed abolition of £3 tax on ex-indentured Indians passed second reading.

**March 13.** Mr. Justice Searle of the Cape Union Supreme Court gave judgment in the case regarding validity of Indian marriages in respect of one Bai Mariam according to Mohammedan rites "contracted" in India with Hassan Esop who had applied for an order restraining the Minister of Interior from deporting her. The application was refused. The decision virtually nullified non-Christian and non-registered marriages. It was suggested in the judgment that the court should intimate that Bai Mariam might be allowed to land if the applicant agreed to legalize the marriage under Act 16 of 1860.

**April 1.** In a letter to the Minister of Interior Gandhi stated that the decision of Mr. Justice Searle and the subsequent statement by immigration officer in Natal, to the effect that no boys or girls claiming to be children of resident Indians would be admitted unless they or their parents produced certificates of birth, had created great consternation among Indians. And passive resisters had also felt compelled to examine their own position. According to Justice Searle, no Indian marriage whether celebrated in South Africa or elsewhere could be recognised unless it was in accordance with the marriage laws of the Cape Province. This in his opinion was an intolerable position and disturbed rights hitherto enjoyed by Indians. As regards birth certificates it was impossible practically to produce them except in rare cases as very few births were registered in India. The practical result in both the cases was almost completely to prevent the entry of wives and minor children of domiciled Indians. Gandhi, therefore, urged the Minister to give effect to the Provisional Settlement by framing a new Immigration Bill to restore the position of wives to what it was before Justice Searle's decision and to revoke the instructions regarding children.

**April 3.** Text of new Immigration Bill published in the *Union Gazette Extraordinary*.

**April 9.** Gandhi telegraphed Minister of Interior that Bill was open to serious objections from Indian standpoint as it disturbed several existing rights.

**April 12.** Detailed in *Indian Opinion* new Bill's failure to fulfil terms of



Provisional Settlement of 1911, reminded British Indians of lesson of "finding pleasure in pain" if Government failed to grant relief.

Explaining the implications of Justice Searle's judgment regarding validity of Indian marriages, Gandhi wrote that the decision meant in plain terms that marriages not contracted according to the law of this land were no marriages at all. He asked those Hindus, Muslims and Parsees who did not want their wives to join *satyagraha* not to come to South Africa until the dispute was settled.

**April 15.** In telegram to Minister of Interior, Gandhi asked for retention of Natal Immigration Act and protection to wives and minor children of educated Indians; regretted interpretation of reference to passive resistance as threat.

Wrote to Secretary for Interior for amending Union marriage laws to legalize non-Christian marriages.

**Before April 19.** Kasturba Gandhi decided to join struggle and court arrest.

**April 19.** Gandhi informed Gokhale of Kasturba's decision. Gokhale sailed for England.

Gandhi wrote in *Indian Opinion* that the new Immigration Bill before the S. African Union Parliament represented a deliberate policy of ridding South Africa of its resident Asiatic population.

**April 27.** Gandhi arrived in Johannesburg from Phoenix, addressed Vrededorp mass meeting which adopted resolution against Immigration Bill.

**After April 27.** Cabled Chaplin, Merriman, Smartt, Alexander, Schreiner and Ampthill reiterating objections to Immigration Bill, and revival of passive resistance if Government failed to grant relief.

**Before April 28.** At Johannesburg consulted European Committee about Immigration Bill; was interviewed by *The Star*.

**May 3.** Wrote in *Indian Opinion*: "If struggle is revived, the impending third campaign will be the purest, the last and the most brilliant of all".

**May 4.** Sonja Schlesin, Secretary, Transvaal Indian Women's Association wired Minister of Interior its decision to offer *satyagraha* on issue of Indian marriages.

**May 8.** Gandhi opened Hindu temple at Verulam. Secretary of State for Colonies cabled Governor-General urging that immediate enactment of legislation to remove Indians' legal disabilities was matter of Imperial importance.

**May 26.** Bill read for third time in Assembly and passed on to Senate for concurrence.

Chaplin wired Gandhi Government's acceptance of amendment as putting marriage question right.

**May 27.** Gandhi, in cable to Duncan Schreiner and others, held amendment insufficient as it required registration of marriages, Bill ran counter to spirit of Settlement. Telegraphed Minister of Interior drawing attention to unfulfilled terms of Settlement.

**May 29.** Gandhi wired Schreiner and Alexander that registration of Indian marriages was superfluous, in absence of any case of undesirable women entering South Africa.

**May 30.** Gandhi telegraphed Minister of Interior, stating that marriage certificates were not in vogue in India, that marriage law should be consistent with Provisional Settlement terms. Minister of Interior moved second reading of Bill in Senate.

**June 2.** Gandhi released statement from Durban that Immigration Bill violated two principal conditions of 1911 Settlement and hoped Senate



would retrieve measure. Indian women in Winberg took pledges not to carry passes.

**June 5.** Natal Immigration Law Amendment Bill regarding £3 tax introduced in Assembly.

Immigration Regulation Bill passed second reading in Senate.

**June 7.** In letter to Gokhale indicated date of his return to India indefinite, if *satyagraha* was resumed.

Writing in *Indian Opinion*, declared inevitability of passive resistance if grievances were not redressed.

**June 11.** Immigration Regulation Bill passed.

**June 12.** Colonial-born Indian Association, Durban, adopted resolution protesting against Immigration Bill, decided to advise Indians not to pay tax.

**June 20.** Gandhi, in letter to Gokhale explained implications of Bill, expressed preparedness to drop *satyagraha* if Fischer promised redress of grievances; and wrote of his anxiety to meet Gokhale in India, to sit at his feet and to work under and learn from him.

**June 21.** Informed Gokhale that passive resistance against the Immigration law would be started in the beginning of July next.

**June 22.** Gandhi's second brother, Karsandas, died at Rajkot.

**June 28.** Gandhi wrote to Minister of Interior expressing readiness for negotiations to avoid passive resistance.

**July 15.** Regulations under Immigration Regulation Act gazetted.

**Before July 17.** Smuts wrote to Gandhi to defer discussions till Railway strike was resolved.

**July 19.** Gandhi returned from Rand in view of Smuts' inability to hold talks because of strike situation.

**July 26.** *Indian Opinion* reported that Gandhi, "in accordance with Smuts' wish, refrained from taking any action because of the unexpected troubles of the Government".

**August 1.** Immigration Regulation Act came into force.

**Before August 2.** 34 women in Bloemfontein jailed for not carrying passes.

**August 7.** In London, Gokhale met Fischer and discussed questions of £3 tax and Indian marriages. Gandhi wrote to Jamnadas Gandhi that Kallenbach and Manilal would go with him to India and the press would continue to function.

**August 15.** Rev. Joseph J. Doke passed away at Umtali.

**Before August 16.** Motilal Nehru, President, United Provinces Congress Committee, telegraphed Viceroy that Imperial Government be urged to withhold Royal assent to Immigration Bill.

**August 23.** Gandhi wrote in *Indian Opinion* on Doke.

**August 24.** Wrote from Johannesburg to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior that official interpretation of new Act threatened "existing and acquired rights" of Indians. Spoke at Doke memorial service in Baptist Church, Johannesburg.

**August 29.** Maganlal Gandhi served with summons for employing Sarjoo, an Indian ex-indentured labourer convicted for failure to pay arrears of £3 tax. Polak left England for South Africa.

**September 4.** Gandhi left Johannesburg for Phoenix.

Maganlal Gandhi cautioned and discharged in Sarjoo's case.

**September 10.** Gandhi telegraphed Private Secretary to Minister of Interior on question of polygamous marriages; considered resumption of passive resistance imperative, if amendment of law not effected.



- September 12.** Cachalia informed Government of Indians' decision to resume passive resistance.
- September 13.** Gandhi announced in *Indian Opinion* that the negotiations had "proved abortive".
- September 15.** Passive resistance revived; pioneer party of passive resisters, twelve men and four women, including Kasturba Gandhi, left Durban for Volksrust by train to cross border. Prominent Transvaal Indian merchants resolved to fight against Gold Law and Townships Act.
- September 16.** Parsi Rustomji and other passive resisters charged at Volksrust as prohibited immigrants under new Act. Gandhi wrote to Harilal Gandhi in India to return to South Africa with his wife, ready for imprisonment as passive resister.  
Kasturba, along with other passive resisters, arrested.
- September 20.** Advised Indians to court arrest by hawking or trading without licences or by declining to produce them when demanded.
- September 21.** Clarified Indian stand, resort to passive resistance, in *The Natal Mercury*.
- September 22.** Passive resisters deported to Natal border, but on re-crossing border, re-arrested and taken to Volksrust.
- September 23.** Kasturba sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour, other passive resisters to one to three months.
- September 24.** Gandhi asserted, in *Indian Opinion*, that £3 tax was crux of the struggle.
- September 25.** Left Durban for Johannesburg. At Maritzburg and Ladysmith, received from Indians assurances of support to struggle. At latter place, refused to leave compartment reserved for Europeans as ordered by conductor. Budree and three other passive resisters, who accompanied Gandhi, arrested at Volksrust.
- September 27.** Gandhi reached Johannesburg.
- September 28.** Wrote to Minister of Interior about gravity of struggle and appealed for reconsideration.
- September 29.** In interview to *The Transvaal Leader*, Gandhi indicated that struggle would be confined to about a hundred resisters. More instances of passive resistance by crossing the border and hawking without permits.
- September 30.** Gandhi refuted *The Transvaal Leader* report that influential Indian merchants were opposed to passive resistance. Budree and his companions deported; re-arrested on re-crossing border, sentenced to three months' hard labour. S. B. Medh, Pragji Desai and Manilal Gandhi arrested for hawking, sentenced to seven days' labour.  
Johannesburg Indian merchants, in letter to *The Transvaal Leader*, denied its allegation.
- October 3.** Anjuman Islam held meeting at Grey Street Mosque, Durban, passed resolution protesting against marriage laws. Polak arrived in Johannesburg; interviewed by *Rand Daily Mail*.
- Before October 5.** Parsi Rustomji and other prisoners in Martizburg Gaol resolved to fast until gaol authorities returned sacred thread and gave up compulsory vaccination.
- October 5.** Gandhi addressed, in Johannesburg, meeting of Patidar Association which adopted resolution supporting passive resistance; similar meetings held at Germiston and Pietermaritzburg.
- October 6.** Two Mohammedan women from Durban crossed border at Volksrust, got arrested.



- October 7.** S. B. Medh, Pragji Desai and Manilal Gandhi, on completing sentences, hawked in Johannesburg; taken to court in handcuffs, charged with non-production of certificates and released on their own recognizances.
- October 8.** Bai Fatima Mehtab, her mother, son and attendant left Durban for Volksrust to court arrest.
- October 9.** Gandhi attended Johannesburg Hindus' meeting, which pledged to support passive resistance. Medh, Pragji Desai and Manilal Gandhi sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment with hard labour.
- October 13.** P. K. Naidoo, Jiwan Premji and nine others went out hawking in Johannesburg to court arrest.
- October 14.** Mrs. Mehtab and party sentenced at Volksrust to three months' imprisonment with hard labour. Naidoo, Bhawani Dayal and Ramnarayan charged with inciting railway workers to create disturbance, sent to gaol.
- October 15.** Gandhi released statement reiterating Indian demands, need for fresh legislation on question of marriages and £3 tax. Hosken, Chairman, European Committee, wrote to Minister of Interior supporting Indians' demand, offering mediation.
- October 16.** Colonial-born Indians at Newcastle passed resolution approving Gandhi's policy.
- October 17.** Gandhi visited Natal Coalfields near Newcastle, urged indentured Indians to strike until Government promised repeal of £3 tax. Campaign entered new phase. 78 workers struck work, four arrested and sentenced to two weeks with hard labour. Over 3,000 indentured Indian miners decided to strike.
- October 18.** Fifteen passive resisters proceeded from Newcastle to Volksrust to court arrest.
- October 19.** At Durban Gandhi attended meeting where some Indians criticized his policy.
- October 20.** Twenty-two Railway workers at Dannhauser struck work. About 3,000 Indians from Newcastle, Cambrian and Durban Navigation Collieries struck work.
- October 21.** Gandhi left Newcastle for Johannesburg to attend meeting of European Committee.  
Had private and informal interview with Lord Emmott. Eleven Indian women arrested at Newcastle, who admitted having peacefully advised miners to suspend work, sentenced to three months' hard labour under Vagrancy Act.
- October 22.** Gandhi wired Gokhale from Johannesburg that strikers would resume work if Government promised to repeal £3 tax.  
Told *Rand Daily Mail* representative six collieries affected; 2,000 miners idle; reprimanded paper for attempt through biased reports to create schism among Indians. Returned to Newcastle, on tour of Hatting Spruit, Elandslaagte, in strike area. 1,500 strikers at Dannhauser decided to walk to Border, court arrest.
- Before October 23.** Gandhi, from Newcastle, wired Botha that strike, in protest against £3 tax, would be ended if Government promised repeal. In telegram to Press, said that he was advising miners to court arrest, leaving mines.  
Manilal Gandhi and four others arrested at Volksrust for hawking



- October 23.** Gandhi informed Press that movement of strikers leaving mines to court arrest or march to Volksrust was imminent.
- The Natal Mercury* reported 9 coal mines closed down due to strike.
- October 24.** Gandhi wrote to Maganlal Gandhi that he proposed to lead 2,000 men into the Transvaal.
- Before October 25.** Gandhi cabled G. A. Natesan denying *The Times of India* report of October 21 about split among Indians concerning passive resistance.
- October 25.** Addressed employers of Indian labour at Durban Chamber of Commerce, and in interview to *The Natal Mercury* attributed coal mine strike to Government's failure to repeal £3 tax.
- October 26.** Gandhi addressed Indian miners at Hindu Temple, Dundee. Eight hundred more miners joined strike.
- October 28.** Gandhi telegraphed the Minister of Interior, stressing basic issues, appealing for reconsideration of tax question upon merits. The march from Newcastle began.
- General Smuts denied, at South African Party meeting, that he had promised Gokhale repeal of £3 tax.
- October 29.** Gandhi with Ballengeich Indian miners left Ingogo in morning for Volksrust. Informed Gokhale that he was marching with strikers to court arrest; requested assistance to get Polak settled in London. Indian strikers refused to accept Government's directive through mine-owners to resume work. NIC charged Government with bad faith in repudiating promise to repeal tax. Pragji Desai sentenced to three months on charge of trespassing on Newcastle mine property.
- October 30.** Gandhi reached Charlestown with 200 men ; telegraphed Minister of Interior to enquire into forcible vaccination of women prisoners ; wired *Indian Opinion* that 5,000 Indians were affected in the strike area ; 4,000 were being led and supported, including 300 women and 600 children ; 300 passive resisters were in gaol. 300 marchers led by Thambi Naidoo and 200 by Albert Chrisppher left Newcastle; some 150 Indians of Ballengeich Colliery arrested.
- October 31.** Gandhi informed Secretary of Justice that if Indians, who had surrendered themselves, were not arrested, they would march into the Transvaal. About 200 men and women led by A. D. Pillay left Newcastle on march to Volksrust, another 500 by train.
- November 2.** Gandhi had, under his charge, 1,500 passive resisters stationed at Charlestown.
- November 3.** Informed Reuter that he contemplated moving 1,500 men into the Transvaal for courting arrest; if not arrested, would proceed to the Tolstoy Farm.
- The Natal Advertiser* reported over 2,000 Indians camping there with 500 arrived from Ladysmith.
- Before November 4.** Gandhi cabled Gokhale reporting situation regarding march.
- November 4.** 1,700 passive resisters started march from Newcastle.
- Before November 5.** Ladysmith railwaymen joined strike. 175 Ballengeich strikers, remanded till November 10, discharged because of Government's inability to accommodate them.
- November 5.** Gandhi telephoned General Smuts asking for assurance of repeal of £3 tax, for "march" to be stopped; Smuts refused.



Gandhi reaffirmed to *The Natal Mercury* his determination to lead march. 700 Indian passive resisters left Newcastle.

**Before November 6.** Gandhi cabled Gokhale reporting strike situation; he would lead "great march" on November 6.

**November 6.** Led at 6.30 a.m. the "great march", consisting of 2,037 men, 127 women and 57 children from Charlestown; addressed marchers halfway between Charlestown and Volksrust. At Volksrust border, Police Superintendent and Immigration Officer interviewed Gandhi and Kallenbach. Marchers broke through Police cordon, crossed border. Gandhi arrested at 8.30 p.m. at Palmford railway station, marchers continued their journey.

**November 7.** Gandhi appeared in Volksrust court; was released on £50 bail; case remanded till November 14; motored 33 miles, rejoined marchers; at Paadekraal *en route* supplied medicines to old and infirm among passive resisters there. Telegraphed Minister of Interior for permission to continue march with other strikers, else Government should take over responsibility for looking after marchers.

Indians of Ulmhloti Valley Sugar Company struck work.

**November 8.** Gandhi arrived at Standerton; arrested and released on recognizances of £50; case remanded till November 21. Column continued march.

Interviewed by Reuter, Gandhi felt sure Government would repeal £3 tax.

**November 9.** Arrested at about 3 p. m. at Teakworth near Greylingstaad on Dundee warrant, charged with inducing strike; not allowed to speak to *satyagrahis*, taken secretly to Balfour for the night.

Marchers led by Polak proceeded to Greylingstaad.

**November 10.** Gandhi's request for remand and permission to take marchers to Tolstoy Farm rejected by magistrate and forwarded to Government. Gandhi took pledge to take one meal a day "till a repeal of the tax was promised".

Column continued march, reached Balfour; 2,000 marchers declared prohibited immigrants, arrested and deported to Natal by special train. Polak, Kallenbach arrested at Charlestown for aiding and abetting prohibited immigrants entering the Transvaal; cases remanded till November 13. Passive resisters in Maritzburg Gaol went on three-day fast.

**Before November 11.** Gandhi, in a message praising marchers' courage and sacrifice, appealed to those not courting arrest to forgo a meal a day to provide food for strikers.

**November 11.** Gandhi sentenced by Dundee Magistrate to £60 fine or to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour; preferred latter; exhorted strikers, in message, to continue strike till £3 tax was repealed.

Writing to Maganlal Gandhi from Dundee Gaol, gave instructions regarding financial arrangements; was allowed fruit diet. Polak and Kallenbach remanded.

**November 12.** 1,500 strikers cleared off Verulam; thousands of indentured Indians struck on plantations from Tongaat to Umgeni.

**November 13.** Gandhi removed to Volksrust Gaol where Kallenbach and Polak were lodged.

**November 14.** Made statement before Volksrust Court; convicted on evidence furnished by himself, sentenced to further 3 months.

**November 15.** Appeared as witness for Crown against Kallenbach, who was sentenced to 3 months.



- November 17.** Appeared as witness in case in which Polak was sentenced to 3 months.
- November 18.** Gandhi transferred to Maritzburg Gaol, Kallenbach to Krugersdorp and Polak to Boksburg; 7,000 to 8,000 reported on strike in Durban.
- November 19.** Jamnadas Gandhi, four others, crossed the Transvaal border from Kimberley.
- November 21.** Sorabji Rustomjee, Christopher arrested. Strike in Maritzburg; Thambi Naidoo arrested.
- November 25.** West, acting Editor of *Indian Opinion*, arrested at Phoenix, charged with "harbouring indentured people". Two Indians shot dead by police on Beneva Estate. Strikers arrested at Verulam, other places, sentenced to 7 days' imprisonment.
- November 28.** Gokhale speaking in Delhi referred to South Africa Indians' desperate plight.
- November 30.** Mass meetings at Durban, Johannesburg; Maritzburg, Newcastle, other towns expressed loyalty to leaders, supported Gokhale's demand for impartial inquiry.
- Before December 17.** Gokhale cabled Gandhi that Rev. C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson would visit South Africa to inquire into conditions of Indians. Inquiry into Indian deaths at Hillhead barracks and on Mount Edgecombe estates on November 27 commenced at Verulam.
- December 18.** Gandhi, Polak and Kallenbach released at Pretoria on Solomon Commission's recommendation. Gandhi reached Johannesburg in the evening; addressed mass meeting; resolutions not to give evidence before Commission adopted; later, interviewed by *The Natal Mercury*. Commission of inquiry started session at Pretoria. 31 passive resisters, including five women, sentenced to 3 months for crossing border.
- December 19.** Gandhi, Polak and Kallenbach left for Durban.
- December 20.** Taken in procession to NIA office; announced mass meeting next day for deciding about tendering evidence before Commission. In interview to *The Natal Mercury*, stated that Indian community would boycott Commission unless Government appointed Europeans free from anti-Asiatic bias. The Transvaal women passive resisters released from Durban Gaol.
- December 21.** Gandhi appeared at Durban Indians' mass meeting dressed as indentured Indian; announced decision to eat once a day—as mark of "inward mourning" for Indians shot dead during strike. Meeting resolved not to give evidence before Commission but to renew struggle; recommended inclusion of W.P. Schreiner and Sir James Rose-Innes in Commission, urged release of all passive resisters. Gandhi later wrote to Minister of Interior forwarding resolutions passed at mass meeting. Received Gokhale's cable not to boycott Commission.
- December 22.** Parsi Rustomji, Chhaganlal Gandhi, Ramdas Gandhi released from Durban Gaol; Kasturba Gandhi, Kashi Gandhi, Santok Gandhi, Solomon Royeppen and others from Maritzburg Gaol. Gandhi spoke at reception to released passive resisters; later, at Maritzburg mass meeting, exhorted Indians to give up luxuries as mark of mourning. Sent long cable to Gokhale about stand in regard to reconstitution of Commission, mass enthusiasm for passive resistance.



**After December 22.** Wrote to *The Natal Advertiser* about ill-treatment of passive resisters in gaol.

**December 23.** Sent long cable to Gokhale, citing instances of anti-Asiatic attitude of Esselen and Wylie, and official repression against passive resistance prisoners. Gokhale cabled Gandhi to send Polak to England. Gandhi and colleagues cabled Amptill Indian community's resentment against Solomon Commission.

In letter to *The Natal Mercury*, rated the cause higher than South African sympathy.

**December 24.** Gandhi cabled Gokhale about inability to withdraw struggle.

**December 25.** Wired Minister of Interior denying joint letter was ultimatum, and promising to safeguard interests of employers of Indian labour, sought interview.

**December 26.** Sent three cables to Gokhale: (a) pleading for Viceroy's intervention with Imperial Government for appointing additional member of Commission on behalf of Indians and planters; (2) intimating that passive resisters' oath did not set January 1 as date for revival of struggle; and (3) advising holding up remittance of funds as movement was likely to be postponed.

Wrote to Senator Campbell thanking him for his effort to secure repeal of £3 tax.

Indian National Congress at Karachi denounced ill-treatment of South Africa Indians; eulogized Gandhi's heroic leadership, demanded ban on indenture system and decided to send deputation to England.

**Before December 27.** Gandhi emphasized, in interview to Reuter, Indian loyalty to Union and Imperial Governments, and anxiety to avoid resumption of passive resistance.

**December 27.** Assured Gokhale, in cable, postponement of march till Robertson's arrival in South Africa. Hoped Viceroy or SSI would not impair European sympathy.

Informed Maritzburg Indian mass meeting of negotiations, but alerted it for struggle.

**December 29.** Cabled Gokhale a long statement. Minister of Interior replying to Gandhi's telegram of December 25, appreciated conciliatory tone of Indian leaders, asked Gandhi to send in writing points for discussion. Gandhi pressed Minister of Interior to nominate two additional members on Commission; expressed readiness to advise acceptance of one-man Commission with enlarged terms of reference; pleaded for release of prisoners, interview for settlement.

Clarified to *The Natal Mercury* that march would not be resumed on January 1, 1914.

Governor-General cabled Colonial Office regarding conciliation move.

**December 30.** Gandhi assured Gokhale that Indians would certainly wait a week or even more till Robertson had chance to look into situation. Criticizing *The Natal Mercury* editorial, reiterated Indian community united in determination to preserve honour through passive resistance.

**December 31.** Informed Gokhale of inability to send Polak to England in view of situation.

Gokhale released to Press Gandhi's statement on Solomon Commission and related matters.



1914

- January 1.** Gandhi wrote to Senator Campbell defending movement, denying passive resistance was connected with violence.  
Sir Benjamin Robertson left Bombay *en route* for South Africa.
- January 2.** C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson arrived in Durban.  
Gandhi spoke at reception.  
Cabled Gokhale about Andrews' arrival, effort for nominating impartial European on Commission.
- January 3.** In cable to Gokhale, asked for Harilal's return to join passive resistance.
- January 4.** Addressed Indian Hawkers' Association reception in honour of Andrews and Pearson.  
Gave interview to Reuter.
- January 5.** Hurbatsingh, 70 year-old *satyagrahi* serving 3 months' sentence died of pneumonia in Volksrust Gaol.
- January 7.** Gandhi, Andrews, left for Pretoria for interview with Smuts.
- Before January 8.** Several Indians killed in police firing at Blackburn Estates.
- January 8.** Gandhi sought interview with Smuts.
- January 9.** Gandhi, Andrews arrived in Pretoria; in interview to *Pretoria News*, assured that passive resisters would not embarrass Government till railway strike was settled.
- January 13.** Gandhi had brief interview with Smuts, who asked him to await Robertson's arrival in Pretoria; Andrews met Governor-General Gladstone.
- January 16.** Gandhi had interview with Smuts; presented proposals.
- January 22.** Andrews saw Smuts; provisional settlement between Gandhi and Smuts arrived at, Government accepting principle of consultation with Indians. Gandhi left Pretoria for Phoenix; passive resistance suspended.
- January 23.** Arrived in Johannesburg; interviewed by *Rand Daily Mail*; cabled Gokhale reporting provisional settlement; set up office at 15, Anderson Street, Johannesburg; several passive resisters released from Durban Gaol.
- January 25.** Gandhi explained implications of settlement at Durban mass meeting which endorsed it.  
Attended reception to Andrews by Indian goldsmiths in Durban.
- January 28.** At a meeting of the Natal Indian Congress, a minority voted for offering evidence before the Inquiry Commission.
- January 30.** Gandhi, Andrews, jointly cabled Gokhale that NIC meeting of January 28 had been engineered and was of no significance.  
Andrews, Manilal Gandhi, arrived at Pietermaritzburg.
- January 31.** Indian mass meeting at Maritzburg honoured Andrews, endorsed Gandhi-Smuts agreement.
- February 6.** Gandhi was informed of Government's decision to release Natal and the Transvaal passive resistance prisoners.
- February 7.** Indian Women's Sabha inaugurated in Durban; Kasturba, Mrs. Polak, elected patrons.  
Inquiry Commission concluded sitting in Natal.
- February 8.** Indian meeting in Stanger supported Gandhi-Smuts agreement.

- February 21.** Gandhi spoke at farewell to Andrews, who later sailed for England.
- February 22.** Miss Valliamma Moonsamy Moodaliar, a passive resister, died of illness contracted in Maritzburg Gaol.
- February 26.** Smuts requested Gandhi to postpone meeting him till Inquiry Commission's report was out.
- February 27.** Gandhi wrote to Gokhale from Cape Town expressing desire to return to India in case of settlement, observe compact of silence for a year and learn at Gokhale's feet.
- March 2.** In letter to Harilal, Gandhi spoke of ailing Kasturba as "hanging between life and death".
- March 4.** Wrote to Robertson about relief to Indians in regard to specific grievances.
- March 7.** Solomon Commission report submitted to Government.
- March 9.** Lakshmidas Gandhi passed away at Porbunder.
- March 11.** Gandhi wrote to Chhaganlal Gandhi how to handle family matters in case of his death. Speaking in the Senate, Smuts observed that Gandhi was allowed to function in South Africa as he did, "because he never advocated methods of violence to overthrow the State".
- March 13.** In letter to Andrews, Gandhi wrote: "Mrs. Gandhi was near death's door last week. I have therefore done hardly anything else save nursing her during the last 10 days".
- March 22.** Transvaal Muslim meeting condemned Solomon Commission's recommendations on question of Muslim marriages.
- March 23.** Smuts announced in Assembly that Government was considering Commission's report and introducing necessary legislation that session.
- March 24.** Union *Government Gazette* published Proclamation requiring publication of bans for Mohammedan and Hebrew marriages.
- March 25.** Cape Indians held reception for Kasturba Gandhi, Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, at Hindu Sabha; Gandhi was presented with set of Cape Town Statutes, also contributions to passive resistance fund. Gandhi analysed in *Indian Opinion* recommendations of the Commission's report.
- March 26.** Accompanied by Kasturba and Imam Bawazeer, left Cape Town for Phoenix.
- March 30.** Arrived at Phoenix. Mr. and Mrs. Polak given farewell by Durban Indian Women's Association.
- April 1.** In letter to Gokhale, Gandhi expressed doubt about Kasturba's survival. Andrews left England for Marseilles *en route* to India.
- April 8.** Gandhi urged Ministry of Interior to stop deduction for £3 tax, from indentured labourers' wages, in view of Commission's recommendations.
- April 22.** Telegraphed Ministry to order suspension of forcible tax collections. Smuts replied stating that suspension of prosecutions for tax recommended to Minister of Justice.
- Before May 6.** Urged Ministry not to demand photos from Indian women seeking entry to the Transvaal, but accept local proof.
- May 6.** Wrote to Gokhale asking whether he and Kasturba should meet him in London *en route* to India, in case of final settlement.
- May 20.** Ministry informed Gandhi interview with Smuts possible for discussing Bill.



**May 22.** Gandhi left Phoenix for Cape Town to meet Smuts.

**May 27.** Met Secretary of Interior, received copy of draft Bill.

**May 28.** The Indians' Relief Bill, 1914, aimed at making provision for redress of certain grievances and removal of certain disabilities of His Majesty's Indian subjects in the Union and other matters incidental thereto. The Bill was published by Union Govt. of South Africa. According to Gandhi's writings in the *Indian Opinion*, the Bill was a simple and short measure and seemed to carry out the recommendations of the India Commission in so far as legislative action was necessary. The Bill removed the marriage difficulty and restored the status as it existed before the Searle Judgment. It sought to repeal the £3 tax and remit the unpaid arrears. Lastly, it validated Natal certificates of domicile, if the owner could establish his identity with the certificate by proving that the thumb impression on it was his own. There was another clause in the Bill with which the community was not concerned. It was the clause which enabled the Government to give free passage to any Indian, not otherwise provided for, if he renounced for himself and his family all claim to domicile in Natal or any other province of the Union. In Gandhi's view, certain alterations were necessary in the Bill as it would be a proper thing to use, for validating future unions, the machinery provided in the Bill for validating existing unions. Amendment would also be necessary for protecting the children of deceased wives, where such wives, if alive, could have been recognised under the present Bill.

**May 30.** In his interview Smuts agreed to three legislative points raised by Gandhi. The Governor-General in his despatch to the Colonial Office in London welcomed the agreement reached between General Smuts and Gandhi.

**June 5.** Gandhi wrote to Gokhale that he would leave for India by mid-July in the event of satisfactory settlement and termination of struggle.

**June 8.** Bill read second time. Anjuman Islam wired Gandhi to press for acceptance of thumb-prints for identification.

**June 9.** Gandhi raised with Gorges question of examination by immigration authorities of applicants seeking entry into Natal.

**June 11.** Randeree wired Gandhi that Bill vested in Government authority to declare 74,000 indentured Indians prohibited immigrants. Gandhi sought from Gorges reassurance as to interpretation of Bill.

**June 15.** Rustomji wired Gandhi for clarification of position of indentured Indians under Bill.

**June 17.** The Indian Relief Bill was read third time in the South African Assembly and referred to Senate. In India, Lokmanya Tilak released after 6 years' exile in Burma.

**June 20.** Gandhi wrote to Campbell denying Indian opposition to Bill, refused to believe Bill had effect of making Indians prohibited immigrants.

**June 22.** Gorges informed Gandhi that Government had no intention to apply Bill adversely to indentured Indians.

**June 26.** Indian Relief Bill was passed by Union Senate. The passage of the Bill ended a struggle of eight years' duration. The Act was considered as mutually satisfactory and honourable settlement of the problems raised by the passive resistance movement.

**June 27.** Gandhi had 2-hour interview with Smuts at Cape Town. Addressed European meeting held to felicitate him on passage of Bill.



- June 30.** Wrote to Gorges that "passing of Indians" Relief bill..... finally closed the passive resistance struggle which commenced in September of 1906".
- July 1.** Accompanied by Kallenbach and Kasturba, left Cape for Phoenix; broke journey at Kimberley. Relief Act received Governor-General's assent; latter cabled Colonial Office that agreement had been reached on "outstanding administrative points".
- July 5.** Gandhi spoke at Durban reception; stated at farewell banquet that Relief Act was act of justice, urgently needed in Imperial interest.
- July 9** Was presented with addresses at farewell meeting in Town Hall, Durban. The meeting addressed Gandhi as "Deshbhakta Mahatma". Gandhi; Kasturba, honoured by Gujaratis, Dheds; addressed sports' meet.
- July 10.** Gandhi addressed farewell gathering at Asiatic Location, Pretoria.
- July 11.** Took leave of Phoenix Settlement.
- July 12.** Addressed a farewell meeting which called him "Mahatma" at Verulam; left for Johannesburg.
- July 13.** Arrived at Johannesburg in evening; taken in procession, addressed mass meeting at Gaitey Theatre.
- July 14.** Given farewell banquet at Masonic Hall, Johannesburg.
- July 15.** Paid tributes to Valliamma, Nagappen, passive resisters at memorial unveiling ceremony at Bloemfontein Cemetery. Addressed meetings of TIWA, of Tamils and Muslims.
- July 16.** Arrived at Pretoria at 8 a.m.; spoke at Indian Location; left for Cape Town.
- July 18.** Arrived at Cape Town; taken in procession from Monument to Docks, received addresses, made farewell speech; interviewed by the *Cape Argus*. Released valedictory letter to South African Indians; left for England on board *S. S. Kinfauns Castle*.
- July 20.** Gandhi's farewell letter published in the Press.
- July 24.** *Gazette* published regulations regarding registration of marriages under Indians' Relief Act.
- July 28.** Further regulations under Immigration Act gazetted.
- August 3.** Phoenix Party for India led by Maganlal Gandhi given send-off at Durban.
- August 4.** World War I broke out; Gandhi received news in English channel; reached London.
- August 7.** In letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi, complained of being ill with "old leg pain".
- August 8.** Given reception at Hotel Cecil, London, by English and Indian friends; Jinnah, Lala Lajpat Rai, Sarojini Naidu, were among those present.
- August 13.** Circular signed by Gandhi, Kasturba, Sarojini Naidu, affirming resolve to tender unconditional service to Empire, issued for signature by supporters.
- August 14.** Gandhi offered to raise Indian Volunteer Corps for ambulance work.
- After August 14.** Indian Volunteer Committee set up with Gandhi as chairman.
- August 24.** Gandhi inquired of India Office if Kallenbach could join Corps.
- Before August 26.** Started attending classes for nursing wounded soldiers.
- September 18.** Met Gokhale in London.



- September 22.** Issued general circular appealing for volunteers.
- October 1.** Presided over Voluntary Aid Corps meeting, attended among others by the Aga Khan, Kasturba, Sarojini Naidu and Ameer Ali.
- October 3.** Indian Ambulance Corps camped at Eastcote. Gandhi served members "...most remarkable lunch consisting of assorted fruits of superfine quality and nuts of different kinds".
- October 6.** Gokhale returned to London after rest-cure at Vichy.
- October 13.** In letter to Col. Baker, Gandhi regretted appointment of Corporals without consulting Indian Committee.
- October 25.** Wrote to Maganlal Gandhi: "I have had to start a *satyagraha* against India Office." Ill in bed, advised rest.
- October 31.** Col. Baker conceded principle of consultation with Indian Committee. Gandhi wrote: "The *satyagraha* is over; we got what we wanted."
- November 3.** Got up first time after illness; started short walks.
- November 4.** Appealed through Press for volunteers for ambulance work. Phoenix Party arrived at Shantiniketan from Kangri Gurukul.
- Before November 11.** Gandhi spent, along with Corps, weekend in camp at Eastcote.
- Indian Opinion* reported Gandhi's name included among nominees to presidency of Indian National Congress.
- November 26.** Gandhi took ill again; wrote to Gokhale.
- December 4.** Gandhi still ill, in bed.
- December 18.** Gave interview to Reuter; given farewell party at Westminster Palace Hotel on eve of departure for India.
- December 19.** Sailed for India, with Kasturba; started learning Bengali on board ship.

## 1915

- January 9.** Gandhiji and Kasturba landed at Apollo Bunder, Bombay. In interview to *The Bombay Chronicle* and *The Times of India*, Gandhiji said he would follow Gokhale's advice and pass some time in India observing and studying.
- January 12.** Public reception at Mount Petit, Bombay, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta presiding.
- January 13.** Welcome by Bombay National Union at Hirabag. Lokamanya Tilak and Joseph Baptista attended.
- January 14.** Gandhiji entertained by Bombay branch of Servants of India Society.
- Met Governor of Bombay. Garden party by Gurjar Sabha, Bombay. M. A. Jinnah presided.
- January 15.** Gandhiji left Bombay for visits to Rajkot, Porbunder and other places in Saurashtra travelling third class. As plague was prevailing at that time and as Gandhiji had slight fever, he was subjected to Viramgam Customs checking which was compulsory for third class passenger. He was therefore asked to report himself to the Judicial Officer at Rajkot on arrival.
- January 26.** In letter, Gandhiji thanked Major Hancock, Administrator of Porbunder, for help during *satyagraha* struggle in South Africa.
- January.** Rabindranath Tagore wrote to Gandhiji thanking him for sending Phoenix boys to stay at Shantiniketan.



- February 8.** Gandhiji arrived in Poona. Held discussions about joining Servants of India Society.  
Wrote to Mahatma Munshiram (Swami Shraddhanand) thanking him for hospitality to Phoenix party at Gurukul.
- February 15.** Spoke at Kapol Hostel, Bombay.  
Left for Shantiniketan.
- February 17.** Reached Bolpur. Met C. F. Andrews. Was accorded reception in Indian style. Tagore was away.
- February 19.** Gopal Krishna Gokhale passed away at Poona.
- February 20.** Gandhiji spoke at condolence meeting for Gokhale at Shantiniketan.  
In telegram to Transvaal British Indian Association suggested universal mourning.
- February 21.** Left Shantiniketan on way to Poona and faced great difficulty in securing a third class ticket at Burdwan. When the train had arrived could not get in the overcrowded third class compartment and so got into an inter class compartment with his wife and was charged excess fare which he had to pay. But Gandhiji again changed into third class compartment at Moghul Sarai.
- February 23.** Wrote letter to Chief Traffic Manager, Eastern Indian Railway, regarding inconveniences during travel.  
Gandhiji wrote, "I travelled on the 21st Inst. by the 3 Up Mail from Burdwan to Kalyan *en route* for Poona. We were holding 3rd class tickets No. 7186 to 7189." But as the train was crowded he could not get in. He had to go in inter class up to Moghul Sarai where he again changed to 3rd class. But he had to pay for travel in inter class and was charged excess fare. He asked for refund of full excess fares.
- March 3.** At Poona meeting to mourn death of Gokhale, Governor of Bombay presiding, Gandhiji moved main resolution.
- March 5.** Reached Shantiniketan and met Rabindranath Tagore. Felt overwhelmed with affection of the teachers and students there. The Phoenix family who were already there had been assigned separate quarters at Shantiniketan and ran their own kitchen.
- March 6—12.** With Tagore's concurrence, Gandhiji introduced cleaning of the kitchen and its surroundings by the students and teachers of the institution.
- March 13.** Reception on grounds of Maharaja of Cassimbazar's palace in Calcutta. Harilal Gandhi took final decision to separate.
- March 14.** Gandhiji left Calcutta with Ramdas and Chhaganlal for Rangoon by *S. S. Lanka* to meet Dr. Pranjivan Mehta.  
In a letter to Naraindas Gandhi wrote as follows regarding Harilal: "I see there has been a misunderstanding between Harilal and me. He has parted from me completely. He will receive no monetary help from me. Gave him Rs. 45/- and he parted at Calcutta. There was no bitterness. Let him take any books or clothes of mine he may want. Hand over the key to him. He may take out anything he likes and then return the key. You must have heard that the key supposed to have been lost was found."
- March 17.** Arrived in Rangoon.
- March 26.** Gandhiji left Rangoon for Calcutta by ship.



- March 27.** Traffic Manager, E. I. Railway, replied to Gandhiji's letter of February 23, agreeing to refund excess fare.
- March 31.** Gandhiji advised youth against anarchical crimes at students' meeting at College Square, Calcutta. P. C. Lyons presided.
- April 2.** Had talks with Rabindranath Tagore, C. F. Andrews and teachers at Shantiniketan.
- April 5.** Reached Hardwar while Kumbha fair was in progress from Shantiniketan to meet Mahatma Munshiramji who was in his Gurukul. Gandhiji was invited to send the Phoenix party to assist the volunteer corps of service led by Pt. Hriday Nath Kunzru. The Phoenix party with Maganlal Gandhi had reached the Kumbha fair earlier. Gandhiji while at Shantiniketan had thought that "the scavengers' work would be our special function in India". In Hardwar near the tents for the volunteers, Dr. Dev, Medical Officer, had dug some pits to be used as latrines. Gandhiji offered to cover up the excreta with earth and see to their disposal which was executed by the Phoenix party led by Maganlal Gandhi. Gandhiji himself was busy in the tent giving *darshan* and holding religious and other discussions.
- April 6.** Met Mahatma Munshiram at Gurukul, near Hardwar.
- April 9.** Took vow to take only five articles in diet every day.
- April 12.** In Delhi with Kasturba and others.
- April 21.** Reception by Indian South African League, Madras. Sir Subramania Aiyar presided.
- April 22.** Gandhiji outlined his future programme of work in India in interview to *The Madras Mail*.
- April 23.** Spoke at Madras Mahajan Sabha meeting and Madras Provincial Congress Committee's "At Home".  
Interviewed by Associated Press of India, explained how his work in South Africa would be continued.
- April 26.** Reception by Indian Christians at Madras. Gandhiji recalled help by missionaries in South Africa.
- May 1.** Spoke on untouchability and *swadeshi* at Victoria Town Hall, Mayavaram.
- May 5-6.** Attended Madras Provincial Conference session at Nellore.
- May 7.** Spoke on passive resistance in South Africa and thanked G. A. Natesan at meeting of Indian South African League at Madras. League passed resolution dissolving itself and placing balance of money at Gandhiji's disposal.
- May 11.** Gandhiji returned to Ahmedabad. Drew up estimate of expenditure of Ashram at Ahmedabad.
- May 20.** Satyagraha Ashram inaugurated at Kochrab near Ahmedabad.
- May 23.** The Phoenix Party (boys and teachers with Maganlal Gandhi) arrived in Ahmedabad from Gurukul Kangri.
- June 1.** Gandhiji fasted at Ahmedabad for a day due to 'falsehood among the boys'.
- June 3.** Award of Kaiser-i-Hind medal to Gandhiji for services to British Empire announced in King's birthday honours.
- June 16.** In letter to J. B. Petit, Secretary, South African Indian Fund, Gandhiji gave income and expense account of *satyagraha* campaign in South Africa up to January 31, 1915.
- June 26.** Received Kaiser-i-Hind medal in Poona.



- July 11.** Attended 15th Bombay Provincial Conference held in Poona. Had two interviews with Lokamanya Tilak.
- September 23.** In letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Gandhiji wrote that he might have to live apart from Kasturba in Dhed quarter as a result of admitting an untouchable family in Satyagraha Ashram.
- September 26.** Dudabhai, a Dhed and his wife joined Satyagraha Ashram. Gandhiji wrote to A. H. West that publication of *Indian Opinion* should be kept up at any cost.
- October 15.** In a despatch, Lord Hardinge urged total abolition of indenture system.
- October 28.** Gandhiji spoke on indenture system at Empire Theatre, Bombay. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah presided.
- November 5.** Sir Pherozeshah Mehta passed away at Bombay.
- November 15.** Moved resolution on death of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta at condolence meeting at Premabhai Hall, Ahmedabad.
- December 12.** Reached Bagasra via Hadala from Amreli. Assured help to people to abolish customs barrier at Viramgam.
- December 20.** Attended session of Industrial Conference at Bombay, Sir Dorab Tata presiding; supported resolution thanking Viceroy for recommending abolition of indenture system.
- December 27-29.** Session of Indian National Congress at Bombay under presidentship of S. P. Sinha. Gandhiji moved resolution on 'India and the Colonies'. Congress instructed A. I. C. C. to confer with Muslim League Executive and frame scheme of self-government. Congress constitution amended to allow representatives of political bodies of 2 years' standing. Gandhiji, not eligible for election to Subjects Committee, was nominated by the President.

## 1916

- January 3.** Spoke at opening of Jain Students' Library, Patidar Youth Association, and Arya Samaj function at Surat. Attended receptions by District Bar Association and Saiyadpura Mohammedan Association and Islamic Library.
- January 5.** Reception by people of Navasari at Seervai Park.
- January 13.** In letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, expressed his differences with methods of Servants of India Society.
- February 4.** Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India, laid foundation stone of Benares Hindu University.
- February 5.** Gandhiji attended anniversary celebrations of Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi, and spoke on value of Hindi.
- February 6.** Spoke at Benares University Week meeting under presidentship of Maharaja of Darbhanga. Princes and Mrs. Besant left in protest. Meeting ended abruptly.
- February 7.** In letter to Maharaja of Darbhanga, explained his remarks about Viceroy.
- February 10.** Writing in *New India* on Benares incident, Mrs. Besant denied she had suggested to princes to leave and justified her interruptions.
- February 16.** Explained aims of Satyagraha Ashram at Y. M. C. A., Madras. Addressed annual meeting of Social Service League, Madras. *Young India* commented on Benares University.



- February 17.** *The Hindu* published Gandhiji's letter on Mrs. Besant's denial about Benares University incident. Gandhiji presided over debate at Anderson Hall, Madras.
- February 25.** In article published in *The Leader*, demanded immediate stoppage of system of indentured labour.
- February 28.** Visited Narishala, Navalrai Hiranand Academy, Nava Vidyalaya High School and Kundanmal Girls' School. Met Gujarati and Deccani residents of Hyderabad in Hirabag. Spoke on vaccination in Holmstead Hall, Hyderabad (Sind).
- March 20.** In Imperial Legislative Council, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved resolution urging abolition of system of Indian indentured labour. Accepting the resolution, Viceroy announced that both Secretary of State and Government had decided on its eventual abolition. Spoke on the anniversary day of Gurukul near Hardwar.
- March 30.** Wrote to J. B. Petit regarding details of *satyagraha* campaign expenses.
- April 21-23.** Discussion held at A.I.C.C. meeting at Allahabad regarding scheme of self-government for India.
- April 23.** Lokamanya Tilak founded first Home Rule League with headquarters at Poona.
- April 29-May 1.** Session of Bombay Provincial Conference at Belgaum. Gandhiji supported resolution on compromise between the Moderates and the Extremists in the country.
- June 4.** Gandhiji spoke on untouchability at Conference of Friendly Associations of Communities, Ahmedabad.
- June 5.** Spoke on Hindu caste system, on second day of the Conference.
- After June 7.** Wrote to Vinoba Bhave's father praising the young man's asceticism.
- June 12.** Annie Besant founded Auxiliary Home Rule League in London.
- June 20.** Gandhiji moved protest resolution against Press Act at Bombay citizens' meeting.
- Before July 26.** Wrote pamphlet in Gujarati on hardships of railway passengers in India.
- September 21.** Annie Besant founded Home Rule League in Madras.
- October 21.** At Bombay Provincial Conference, held at Ahmedabad, Gandhiji proposed election of M. A. Jinnah as President.
- October 22.** At Bombay Provincial Conference, moved resolution protesting against working of Defence of India Act and Government order prohibiting Annie Besant from entering Bombay Presidency.
- October 24.** At Bombay Provincial Conference, moved resolutions urging abolition of indenture system and removal of custom cordon at Viramgam railway station and at other places on Kathiawar frontier.
- December 22.** Spoke on "Does economic progress clash with real progress?" at Muir Central College Economic Society, Allahabad, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya presiding.
- December 23.** Spoke on modern system of education at Allahabad public meeting, Pandit Malaviya presiding.
- December 26-30.** Lucknow session of Indian National Congress under presidentship of Ambika Charan Mujumdar. Congress-League Scheme of Reforms adopted; re-union of two wings of the Congress; Tilak joined after 1907 Surat split.



Gandhiji attended and moved resolutions on indentured labour and Defence of India Act.

Raj Kumar Shukla met Gandhiji.

**December 29.** Gandhiji presided over All-India Common Script and Common Language Conference at Lucknow.

**December 31.** At Muslim League session, report of Reforms Committee appointed at Bombay in 1915 was presented. M.A. Jinnah's resolution protesting against treatment of Indians in Colonies was adopted. Gandhiji attended session and spoke on Hindu-Muslim amity.

### 1917

**January 17.** In letter to Narandas Gandhi, conveyed his resolution to set up a national school.

**February 9.** At Bombay public meeting held at Excelsior Theatre under presidentship of Sir Jamsetji Jeejbhoy, spoke in support of resolution demanding immediate abolition of indenture system.

**March 2.** Spoke at Home Rule League headquarters, Karachi, on passive resistance and austerity.

At public meeting, told people to join Defence Forces in "overwhelming numbers". Sir S. P. Sinha presided.

At public meeting in Karachi, Gandhiji insisted on abolition of indenture system by May 31, 1917.

**March 6.** Reached Calcutta at Maharaja of Cassimbazar's invitation.

Declared at public meeting in Town Hall that India could not tolerate indentured emigration "a minute longer than the 31st May".

**March 12.** Governor-General-in-Council's decision prohibiting labour emigration from India under Defence of India Act gazetted.

**April 8.** Gandhiji attended A.I.C.C. meeting at Calcutta which decided to send eight-member deputation to England for Congress work.

**April 10.** With Raj Kumar Sukla, reached Patna in the morning on way to Champaran to ascertain facts about indigo plantations.

Arrived at Muzaffarpur late at night.

**April 11.** Met and explained mission to James Wilson, Secretary, Bihar Planters' Association. In evening, met *vakils* of Muzaffarpur.

**April 12.** Wrote letter seeking interview with L. F. Morshead, Commissioner of Tirhut Division, and co-operation of local administration in his mission.

**April 13.** Had an interview with Morshed. Later, Gandhiji sent him a letter restating scope of mission and enclosing statement of leaders.

**April 15.** In letter to Maganlal Gandhi, described situation in Champaran to be "worse than in Fiji and Natal". Arrived in Motihari.

**April 16.** Left for Jassauli in Champaran; served with notice to leave district by first available train. Returned to Motihari. Conveyed decision to disobey the order in letter to W. B. Heycock, District Magistrate. Conveyed decision to P. S. to Viceroy to return Kaiser-i-Hind medal.

**April 18.** Appeared in District Magistrate's Court, Motihari, and read out statement explaining disobedience of order. Case postponed till April 21.

**April 20.** Government issued orders for withdrawal of proceedings against Gandhiji and sent instructions to local officials to give him facilities during investigation.

**April 28.** Herbert Cox, Honorary Secretary, Bihar Planters' Association, wrote to Morshead protesting against enquiry by Gandhiji.



- May 5.** Directors of Bihar Planters' Association passed resolution recording emphatic protest against manner of Gandhiji's enquiry.
- May 13.** Wrote out his report on conditions of Champaran *raiya*s.
- May 20.** In letter to Home Member, Government of India, Lt.-Governor detailed action to be taken against Gandhiji.  
Bihar Planters' Association wrote to Morshead tracing acts of incendiarism to Gandhiji's mission.  
Gandhiji wrote to Heycock regarding Belwa and Dhokraha concerns and complained of intimidation by planters.
- May 21.** McPherson sought Government of India's approval to remove Gandhiji and his associates from Champaran under Defence of India Rules.  
Whitty wrote to Maude that Gandhiji had "become the centre of agitation against the Europeans".
- May 22.** Gandhiji sent to Heycock another statement about Dhokraha fire.  
In letter to Morshead, Heycock attributed Dhokraha fire to Gandhiji's visit and described his enquiry as "dangerous to the peace of the district".
- May 24.** Viceroy held consultations with his Council. Later, Home Department, Government of India, wired to McPherson suggesting appointment of a "strong Committee".
- May 26.** In letter to Esther Faering, Gandhiji described condition of Champaran *raiya*s as "no better than that of slaves".
- May 27.** Lt.-Governor invited Gandhiji for interview at Ranchi on June 4.  
In communication to Government of India, McPherson proposed Gandhiji's name as *raiya*s' representative on the proposed Committee.
- May 29.** In Press statement, Gandhiji said any enquiry covering definite issues would meet existing situation if known wrongs were immediately redressed.
- May 30.** In letter to McPherson, Gandhiji agreed to meet Lt.-Governor and complained against planters' obstruction in his enquiry.
- June 2.** Home Department, Government of India, wrote to Bihar Government that enquiry committee be appointed and investigation started within a month.
- June 4.** Met Lt.-Governor at Ranchi. In letter to Maharaja of Darbhanga (Member, Executive Council), communicated his terms for enquiry.
- June 5.** Held discussions with Lt.-Governor and saw Members of Executive Council.
- June 7.** Arrived in Patna. Conveyed acceptance of nomination to Enquiry Committee after consulting Pandit Malaviya.
- June 10.** Government resolution announced terms and composition of Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee.  
Gandhiji wrote to McPherson that taking of statements at Bettiah had been stopped.
- June 17.** Gandhiji left Bettiah for Ahmedabad.
- June 28.** Returned to Motihari from Ahmedabad with Dr. Deva, Secretary, Servants of India Society.
- June 29.** In letter to Heycock, proposed sending of volunteers and Dr. Deva for assistance to villagers.



**June 30.** Dadabhai Naoroji passed away.

In letter to *The Pioneer*, Gandhiji refuted criticism of his 'native' dress.

Wrote to J.B. Petit about internment of Mrs. Besant and others, urging vigorous propaganda in villages despite prohibition.

**On or After July 3.** Gandhiji in private circular letter from Motihari detailed expenses and activities of Satyagraha Ashram and appealed for help.

**July 7.** Writing to P.S. to Viceroy from Patna, Gandhiji called internment of Mrs. Besant "a big blunder".

**July 11.** Champaran Committee held preliminary meeting to decide procedure and extent of enquiry.

**July 17.** E.S. Montagu appointed Secretary of State for India. Public sittings of Champaran Committee commenced.

**August 14.** Champaran Committee discussed Gandhiji's suggestions and adjourned.

**August 16.** Reached Patna on way to Ahmedabad, leaving behind volunteer camps at Bettiah and Motihari to continue welfare work.

**August 31.** Told Mahadev Desai, "I have got in you the man I wanted", and asked him to join him.

**September 2.** Took part in Bombay Provincial Congress Committee meeting held to consider passive resistance campaign against coercive measures of Government.

**September 23.** In interview with Lt.-Governor at Ranchi, discussed *sharahbeshi* and work of volunteers in Champaran.

**September 24-28.** Champaran Committee met in second and last session at Ranchi, Gandhiji participating.

**September 25.** Gandhiji wrote letter to Press on third class travelling on railways.

**September 27.** Wrote foreword to G.A. Natesan's booklet, *What India Wants: Autonomy Within the Empire*.

**September 29.** Signed agreement with leading planters at Ranchi regarding reduction of *sharahbeshi*.

**October 3.** Gandhiji along with other members of Champaran Committee signed the Report.

**October 4.** Wrote to Lt.-Governor regarding publication in the regional language of Government's resolution on Committee's report.

**October 6.** A.I.C.C. and Council of Muslim League met in joint session at Allahabad and decided to send all-India deputation to Viceroy and Secretary of State in support of Congress-League scheme. Champaran Committee's report was accepted by Lt.-Governor-in-Council.

**October 18.** Government of Bihar and Orissa passed resolution on Champaran Agrarian Enquiry Committee Report which acknowledged "with much pleasure the good sense and moderation shown by Mr. Gandhi, who represented the cause of the tenants on the Committee".

**October 20.** Presided over Second Gujarat Educational Conference.

**October 21.** In concluding address at Conference, expressed desire to lay down life in country's service.

**October 26.** All-India deputation, including Gandhiji, Motilal Nehru, Tilak, Jinnah and Sapru, waited on Chelmsford and Montagu.

**November 3.** Presided over First Gujarat Political Conference at Godhra.



- November 4.** Announced at Political Conference intimation of Government's decision to remove customs levy at Viramgam.
- November 5.** In concluding speech at Conference, exhorted participants to continue propaganda work and obtain signatures on petition to Montagu. Presided over Dhed community meeting.
- November 11.** Addressed public meeting in Muzaffarpur; appealed for support to Congress-League recommendation. In the evening, attended conference of Hindu and Mohammedan leaders; left for Motihari at 9 p.m.
- November 16.** Visited Koeri; went to Amolwa Station; inquired into case of police excesses on labourers.
- November 26.** Had interview with Chelmsford and Montagu at Delhi.
- November 27.** Had interview with Tilak, Montagu.
- November 28.** Went to Aligarh; spoke on Hindu-Muslim unity at the Lyall Library Grounds; later, addressed Aligarh College students on "Truth and Thrift".
- November 29.** Champaran Bill, introduced in Council, referred to Select Committee.
- December 10.** Appointment of Rowlatt Committee announced.
- December 19.** Communicated views on Champaran Agrarian Bill to Revenue Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Government.
- December 26.** Attended Indian National Congress session at Calcutta.
- December 29.** Moved resolution at Congress session concerning disabilities of Indians in South Africa.
- December 30.** Proposed, at Indian Social Conference, resolution regarding education and uplift of depressed classes. Spoke at First Bengal Agriculturists' Conference; also at All-India National Language Conference.
- December 31.** Addressed session of All-India Muslim League in Calcutta; also meeting held under auspices of Bengal and Bombay Humanitarian League at University Institute. Delivered presidential address at All-India Social Service Conference.

## 1918

- January 1.** Presided over Ahmedabad meeting to protest against defective water supply. Gujarat Sabha wrote to Bombay Government for exemption or relief from land revenue payments.
- January 10.** Gujarat Sabha under Gandhiji's advice asked Kheda farmers to refrain from paying land revenue.
- January 12.** Gandhiji returned to Motihari from Ahmedabad. Discussed Champaran Agrarian Bill with L. F. Morshead, Commissioner of Tirhut Division. Kheda Collector in a statement criticized Gujarat Sabha's advice to peasants to withhold land revenue, threatened action against defaulters.
- January 16.** Government of Bombay issued statement that Collector of Kheda had granted revenue relief in fit cases.

- January 21.** Gandhiji wrote to Tagore for his views on adopting Hindi as the *lingua franca*.
- January 24.** Represented to Revenue Secretary of Bihar and Orissa that material alterations in Champaran Agrarian Bill be made only in consultation with *raiyats*' representative.
- February 5.** Along with Dinshaw Wacha and G.K. Parikh called on Governor of Bombay in connection with Kheda situation; later left for Sabarmati.
- February 8.** Advised Ahmedabad mill-hands to be reasonable in their demands and seek settlement without creating bitterness.
- February 15.** Wrote to Pratt, Commissioner, to postpone land revenue recovery till his inquiry into Kheda situation was over.
- February 20.** Presided over annual gathering of Bhagini Samaj in Bombay, spoke on women's education; returned to Nadiad.
- February 22.** Lock-out in Ahmedabad mills.
- February 26.** Commenced issuing leaflets on mill-hands' struggle, also practice of addressing mill workers daily under *babul* tree on Sabarmati banks.
- March 4.** Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council passed Champaran Agrarian Bill.
- March 7.** Gandhiji discussed Ahmedabad mills lock-out situation with co-workers.
- March 12.** Lock-out at mills lifted; mill workers started strike.
- March 15.** Announced at workers' meeting his decision to fast to prevent strikers weakening.
- March 17.** Appealed to Bombay Governor for postponement of land revenue recovery.  
Explained significance of fast at Ashram prayer meeting.
- March 18.** Announced settlement between mill-owners and workers; A. B. Dhruva appointed arbitrator.
- March 19.** In leaflet No. 17, last of the series (started on Feb. 26) Gandhiji gave implications of settlement; joined mill workers' procession.
- March 21.** Spoke at public meeting addressed by C.F. Andrews, who left for Bombay to intercede with Governor on behalf of Kheda peasants.
- Before March 22.** Following rejection of plea for postponement of land revenue recovery, Gandhiji sent ultimatum to Pratt.
- March 22.** Inaugurating Kheda *satyagraha*, addressed 5,000 peasants in Nadiad.  
*Satyagrahis* pledged not to pay land revenue and to face consequences.  
Left for Delhi in response to Andrews' telegram.
- March 25.** Met Private Secretary to Viceroy regarding release of Ali brothers.
- March 27.** Returned to Nadiad; wrote to Press on his recent fast. Issued circular on Kheda situation.
- March 29.** Delivered presidential address at Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Indore.
- April 1.** Commenced Kheda tour.  
At public meeting in Kathana, characterised Government's attitude as unjust.
- April 2.** At Limbasi appealed to people not to be scared of Government's oppressive measures.
- April 8.** Visited Borsad, addressed gathering of 4,000 people. Left for



- Ahmedabad by train. At National Education Week inauguration at Gokhale Hall in Madras, Annie Besant read out Gandhiji's message.
- Before April 12.** Issued circular inviting Ahmedabad people to attend Commissioner's meeting on April 12.
- April 12.** Commissioner addressed meeting of about 2,000 agriculturists, convened with Gandhiji's assistance, at Ahmedabad. Gandhiji spoke in order to clear misunderstanding created by Commissioner's speech. Addressed meeting at Nadiad; left for Bombay.
- April 17.** Issued pamphlet elaborating points in his letter to *The Bombay Chronicle* on Commissioner's speech. Addressed *satyagrahis* at Dantali and Chikholdra.
- April 23.** *En route* to Bombay, wrote to Kasturba asking her "to be a mother to Maganlal. . . . It is Maganlal, if anyone, who has so trained himself that he can carry on my work after me." In Bombay addressed meeting of citizens on Kheda *Satyagraha*. Tilak moved resolution demanding either immediate suspension of land revenue recovery or impartial inquiry into peasants' grievances.
- April 25.** Orders issued to Mamlatdars in Northern Division not to recover land revenue from those unable to pay. Viceroy opened War Conference in Delhi.
- April 26.** Gandhiji wrote to Sir Claude Hill declining invitation to participate in War Conference or any of its committees. Had interview with Viceroy.
- April 27.** Agreed to participate in War Conference after interview with Viceroy.
- April 28.** Spoke at War Conference supporting resolution on recruitment.
- April 30.** Wrote to Maffey, Private Secretary to Viceroy, offering his services as per his declaration at War Conference.
- May 6.** Issued statement in reply to Bombay Government's Press note on Kheda crisis. Spoke at Bombay Provincial Conference supporting abolition of indenture system.
- May 13.** Spoke at Dhundakuva on "Soul-force vs. Coercion".
- May 18.** Informed Maffey that he was actively preparing for recruitment campaign.
- June 6.** Issued manifesto to people of Kheda signifying end of Kheda *satyagraha*.
- June 9.** Reached Bombay; wrote to Chief Secretary, Bombay Government, declining to speak at Provincial War Conference.
- June 10.** Attended Provincial War Conference at Town Hall.
- June 16.** Presided over Bombay public meeting protesting against Lord Willingdon's provocative conduct at Provincial War Conference. Bombay branches of the Home Rule League passed resolutions criticizing Government's attitude.
- June 21.** Addressed public meeting at Nadiad inaugurating recruitment campaign.
- June 22.** Issued first leaflet of appeal for enlistment.
- June 24.** Spoke at Ahmedabad protesting against Governor's conduct at War Conference; appealed to people to enlist in army.
- June 27.** In Kheda, stressed significance and efficacy of *satyagraha* at reception to released *satyagrahis*.
- July 8.** Report on Montagu-Chelmsford Constitutional Reforms released.



- July 9.** Wrote to Jinnah that they should simultaneously work for enlisting in army and for amendment of Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme.
- July 18.** In response to Sastri's request, set down his views on Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme.  
Speaking at meeting presided over by Pratt in Nadiad, declared his reluctance to go outside Gujarat for recruitment work, so long as his own people hung back.
- July 22.** Issued second leaflet of appeal for enlistment. Wrote to Govind Malaviya that Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme was good, that its shortcomings could be removed through agitation.
- August 10.** Gandhiji wrote to Surendranath Banerjea on the Reforms and difference among Moderates and Extremists.
- August 11.** Fell seriously ill at Nadiad.
- August 12.** Writing to Fulchand Shah said : "I kept my sense up to a quarter to six yesterday and added to my store of health. Then, all a tremble I broke the fast and brought great trouble on myself. Nor did I exercise self-restraint in deciding what to eat. I ate *ghens*.... I have almost to crawl to reach the lavatory and I have such griping pain there that I feel like screaming."  
Wrote to Horniman declining presidentship of Humanitarian Conference.
- August 17.** Writing to Shankerlal Banker said, "My health is not yet restored completely. I am afraid it will take time".  
The same day writing to Raojibhai Mehta said, "I am down with serious illness these days. I am confined to bed".
- August 23.** Still ill; brought from Nadiad to Ahmedabad. Stayed at Sheth Ambalal's residence.
- August 25.** Explained his differences with Congress Moderate and Extremist leaders in letter to B. Chakravarty.  
Wrote to Tilak on enlistment of recruits for war.
- August 29.** Special Congress session held in Bombay under presidentship of Syed Hasan Imam.  
Addressed letter to Press on emigration of Indians to the Transvaal.  
Wrote to C. F. Andrews : "I would not have you leave Shantiniketan."
- September 1.** Special Congress session passed resolution on Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme.
- September 9.** Madras meeting under presidentship of Justice T. Sadasiva Iyer expressed thankfulness for Gandhiji's recovery. Gandhiji in letter to P. C. Ray reiterated his vow not to take milk or milk-products.
- October 1.** Replied to birthday felicitations at Sabarmati meeting. Condition became serious. Telegrams sent to Harilal and Devdas.
- November 14.** In message on opening of Gujarat Swadeshi Store, asked people to cultivate *swadeshi* spirit with religious devotion.
- November 18.** Gandhiji said in letter to Mahomed Ali: "In the proper solution of the Mahomedan question lies the realization of swaraj."
- December 29.** Indian National Congress met for 23rd session in Delhi, Madan Mohan Malaviya presiding.

### 1919

- January 10.** In letter to Maganlal Gandhi, Gandhiji explained how he took to goat's milk.
- January 18.** Rowlatt Bill published in *Gazette of India*.
- January 20.** Gandhiji operated on for piles in Bombay.



**January 27.** End of Bombay labour strike announced.

Gandhiji explained vow about milk in letter to Narahari Parikh.

**January 30.** Wrote to counsel for Ali Brothers assuring action to secure their release.

Sent good wishes to *The Independent*, new Allahabad daily.

**February 7.** Imperial Legislative Council debate on Rowlatt Bill. Bill referred to Select Committee against unanimous Indian opposition.

**February 8.** Gandhiji wrote to Pandit Malaviya suggesting countrywide agitation.

**February 9.** Wrote to V.S. Srinivasa Sastri on civil disobedience campaign against Rowlatt Bill.

Second Rowlatt Bill introduced and referred to Select Committee despite unanimous non-official opposition.

**February 20.** Wrote to P.S. to Viceroy about release of Ali Brothers.

**February 24.** *Satyagraha* pledge signed at Sabarmati Ashram meeting, Gandhiji attending.

Gandhiji wired to P.S. to Viceroy conveying *satyagraha* decision.

**February 25.** In telegram to Pandit Malaviya, informed him that he would not go to England in Congress deputation in view of Rowlatt Bills.

Wrote letters to C.F. Andrews, K. Natarajan, Stanley Reed and Dinshaw Wacha conveying *satyagraha* pledge.

Wrote letter to Press on South African Indians' plight.

**February 26.** Signed the *satyagraha* pledge along with Vallabhbhai Patel and others at Sabarmati Ashram.

Wrote letter to Press on *satyagraha* pledge.

Committee of the *Satyagraha Sabha* issued Gandhiji's instructions to volunteers on taking signatures on *satyagraha* pledge. Gandhiji wrote to *The Indian Social Reformer* elaborating views on inter-caste marriages and Patel Marriage Bill. Sent letter to press on National School at Sabarmati.

**March 1.** Issued first "Satyagraha Leaflet" quoting extracts from Thoreau. Select Committee Report on Rowlatt Bills with dissenting minutes by Indian members presented to Imperial Legislative Council.

Executive Committee with Gandhiji as president appointed at meeting of pledge-signatories under auspices of *Satyagraha Sabha* at Bombay.

**March 6.** Gandhiji in Delhi. Interview with Viceroy.

**March 7.** Attended protest meeting at Delhi. Mahadev Desai read out speech.

**March 8.** In letter to Srinivasa Sastri, Gandhiji explained decision on *satyagraha* and differences with others.

**March 11.** Inaugurated *satyagraha* meeting at Lucknow. Supporters signed pledge.

Gandhiji requested P.S. to Viceroy by wire and letter not to proceed with Rowlatt Bills.

Attended *satyagraha* meeting at Allahabad, Syed Hussain presiding. Mahadev Desai read out speech.

**March 12.** Imperial Council debate on Rowlatt Bills.

Motion for consideration of Bills as amended by Select Committee passed.

Gandhiji wrote to Home Secretary requesting release of Ali Brothers.

*Satyagraha Sabha* rules published.

**March 14.** Gandhiji with Swami Shraddhanand attended protest meeting at Bombay. Gandhiji's speech read out.

- March 18.** Rowlatt Bill passed despite opposition from non-official members. B. N. Sharma resigned in protest.  
Madras Moderates issued manifesto against *satyagraha*. Gandhiji reached Madras.  
Attended protest meeting at Madras. *Satyagraha* pledge signed at meeting.
- March 21.** Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919 (Rowlatt Act) received Governor-General's assent. Gandhiji spoke at tramway strikers' meeting at Madras.
- March 23.** Announced, in letter to Press, observance of April 6 as day of humiliation and prayer.
- March 30.** Satyagraha Day observed.  
Riot at Delhi. Mob fired at.  
Gandhiji left for Bezwada.  
At Madras Satyagraha Sabha meeting at Triplicane Beach, his speech read out.
- April 3.** Gandhiji arrived in Bombay.  
Wired congratulations to Swami Shraddhanand on Delhi's opposition to Rowlatt legislation.
- April 5.** Government communique on Rowlatt legislation.  
Gandhiji wired to Swami Shraddhanand for help to dependants of victims.  
Wrote to Rabindranath Tagore for a message on the movement.
- April 6.** Satyagraha Day observed all over India.  
Mass meeting at Chowpatty Beach, Bombay, under Gandhiji's presidency. Gandhiji also addressed meeting of Mohammedans and ladies of Bombay.  
Appeal to people of Madras.
- April 7.** First issue of Gandhiji's *Satyagrahi*, priced one pisa, came out without registration.  
Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay, issued note on defying laws governing prohibited literature and registration of newspapers. Sale of proscribed literature by *satyagrahis* in Bombay.
- April 8.** Gandhiji explained, in leaflets, vows on *swadeshi* and Hindu-Muslim unity.
- April 9.** On way to Delhi, at Kosi, served with orders restricting entry into Punjab and Delhi.  
Message to countrymen not to resent arrest or commit violence.
- April 10.** Gandhiji elected to disobey prohibition order, put under arrest and sent to Bombay.  
All-India *hartal* in protest against his arrest.  
Incendiarism, riot and mob violence at Ahmedabad on hearing news of arrest. Police firing, killing of Europeans and burning of mill and station yard.  
Arrest and deportation from Amritsar of Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew.  
Mob rising and police firing. Several Europeans killed.  
Police firing at Lahore.
- April 11.** Gandhiji brought to Bombay and released.  
Spoke at mass meeting at Chowpatty Beach, administering warning to *satyagrahis*.  
In wire to Swami Shraddhanand, appealed to people to avoid violence.  
Country-wide *hartal* continued.  
Arrests in Bombay. Mob outrage at Ahmedabad. Telegraph office and Collector's office burnt down.



- April 12.** Rabindranath Tagore wrote to Gandhiji on *satyagraha*. Gandhiji's interview to Press representatives at Bombay.  
 Attended meeting of cloth merchants at Marwari Chamber.  
 Broke down on hearing news of Ahmedabad disturbance.  
 Left for Ahmedabad.  
 Meeting at Badshahi Mosque, Lahore. Firing by troops, derailment and burning of train.  
 Disturbances in Bombay, Viramgam, Nadiad and Amritsar.  
 Riot and bloodshed in Calcutta.
- April 13.** Massacre at mass meeting at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar.  
 Gandhiji reached Ahmedabad with Anasuya Sarabhai. In message to Ahmedabad citizens, implored them to be calm and obey orders.
- April 14.** *Hartal*, serious disturbances and bombing at Gujranwala. Telegraph wires cut at Lahore, Amritsar and other places.  
 Gandhiji spoke at mass meeting at Sabarmati.  
 Upbraided people for violence, announced three-day penitential fast.  
 Wrote to P.S. to Viceroy on disturbances.
- April 15.** Wrote to Collector of Ahmedabad enquiring about names of English victims, to send help to their families. Visited the wounded at Ahmedabad Civil Hospital.
- April 18.** Announced temporary suspension of civil disobedience.
- April 19.** Attended Hindi Sahitya Sammelan meeting at Bombay under presidency of Pandit Malaviya.
- April 20.** All-India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay under presidency of Pandit Malaviya, Gandhiji and Mrs. Besant attending.
- April 21.** *Satyagrahi* suspended publication following suspension of movement.  
 A.I.C.C. passed resolution on Punjab situation.  
 Gandhiji sent telegram to P.S. to Viceroy against whipping people in public. Wrote to Collector of Ahmedabad against levy on mill-hands.  
 Arrived in Ahmedabad from Bombay.
- April 25.** Spoke at *satyagraha* meeting in Bombay. Issued leaflet explaining significance of *satyagraha*.
- April 26.** B. G. Horniman served with order to leave India. *The Bombay Chronicle* suspended publication.  
 Gandhiji issued leaflet on Horniman's deportation, advising people against violence and demonstrations.
- April 30.** Published in leaflet Horniman's letter from S. S. Takada. Sent Swadeshi Pledge to Sir Stanley Reed and Governor of Bombay.
- May 2.** In a *satyagraha* leaflet indicated resumption of civil disobedience in July.
- May 5.** Sent Swadeshi Pledge to Viceroy. Wrote to District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, on complicity of educated men in Ahmedabad disturbances.  
 Wrote to Maganlal Gandhi asking Ashramites to take up spinning.
- May 7.** P.S. to Viceroy wrote to Gandhiji seeking help to stabilize Indian opinion in face of Afghan developments. Gandhiji issued message on observance of May 11.  
*Young India*, New Series, Vol. I, No. I, issued as a bi-weekly every Wednesday and Saturday, from Bombay, under Gandhiji's supervision.
- May 9.** Spoke on Khilafat at special meeting of Anjuman Ziaul Islam at Bombay, M. T. Kadarbhai presiding.

- May 11.** Bombay *hartal* in honour of Horniman.  
Annie Besant resigned presidency of Home Rule League.  
Gandhiji assured help to Viceroy in reply to latter's request of May 7.
- May 13.** Explained "pure" and mixed" *swadeshi* vows in *Young India*.  
Names of 47 signatories to *swadeshi* vow published. Police raid on *The Independent* office.
- May 16.** Wrote to Viceroy's P.S. demanding fullest investigations into disturbances in Punjab.
- May 26.** Sir Edward Maclagan took over as Lt.-Governor of Punjab from O'Dwyer.
- May 28.** Gandhiji addressed conference of *satyagrahis* at Bombay. Wrote foreword to reprint of *Indian Home Rule*.
- May 29.** Indian Reforms Bill introduced in House of Commons by E. S. Montagu.
- May 30.** Gandhiji wrote to Viceroy's Private Secretary on martial law administration in Punjab.
- June 1.** Rabindranath Tagore renounced knighthood.
- June 10.** Martial law withdrawn from Punjab except from railway lands.
- June 12.** Wrote to secretaries of Satyagraha Sabha on resumption of civil disobedience in July.
- June 14.** Gandhiji wrote to E. S. Montagu justifying movement against Rowlatt legislation.
- June 15.** Executive Committee of Satyagraha Sabha met at Bombay, decided on resumption of civil disobedience in the beginning of July and vested full powers in Gandhiji to guide movement.
- June 16.** Gandhiji issued second leaflet explaining *swadeshi* vow. Gave evidence before Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, in connection with Dr. Kitchlew's trial before Martial Law Commission.
- June 18.** Wrote to P. S. to Viceroy conveying decision to resume civil disobedience in July.
- June 24.** Sent cable to Secretary of State for India that he would resume civil disobedience in July unless Rowlatt legislation was withdrawn and a committee was appointed to enquire into Punjab disturbances.  
Presided at Bombay meeting to protest against Rowlatt legislation and Horniman's deportation.
- June 25.** Wrote letter to G. A. Natesan enclosing instructions on *satyagraha* campaign.
- June 28.** Treaty of Versailles signed.  
Gandhiji sent reply to letter from P.S. to Viceroy on resumption of civil disobedience.  
Spoke on *swadeshi* at meeting in Bombay.
- June 30.** Wrote to Deputy Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad, that he would give notice to authorities before resuming civil disobedience. Wrote instructions for *satyagrahis* in terms of Sabha Committee's resolution of June 15.
- Before July 1.** Drafted rules of Swadeshi Sabha.
- July 1.** Interview with Inspector-General and Commissioner of Police, Bombay. In statement said he would not resume civil disobedience before July 8 and would inform authorities beforehand.  
Inaugurated Central Swadeshi Sabha at Bombay with branches all over India.



- July 2.** Press Association of India sent cable to British Prime Minister and Secretary of State urging repeal of Press Act.
- July 5.** Secretary of State for India cabled Governor of Bombay advising interview with Gandhiji to dissuade him from resuming *satyagraha*. Gandhiji wrote in *Young India* on Smuts-Gandhi Agreement. Sent letter to H. S. L. Polak regarding civil disobedience and South African matters.
- July 9.** Martial Law Commission delivered judgment in Amritsar Conspiracy Case.
- July 21.** Gandhiji issued letter to Press announcing postponement of civil disobedience in deference to warning of Viceroy and other friends.
- July 24.** Privy Council granted leave to appeal to 21 Indians convicted under martial law for riots in Amritsar.
- August 2.** In *Young India* supported appeal of Swami Shraddhanand for Rs. 1.5 lakhs to help victims of martial law atrocities.
- August 4.** In Bombay, interviewed by a representative of *The Hindu* announced intention to resume civil disobedience if Government failed to repeal Rowlatt Act.
- August 6.** In *Young India* described action of Ahmedabad District Judge as "impudent" in proceeding against barristers who took *satyagraha* pledge.
- August 14.** In Godhra, opened Swadeshi Bhandar; held conference with Collector and local leaders on question of forced labour; spoke on *swadeshi* at women's meeting and at a public meeting.
- August 15.** At crowded public meeting, called upon Government to conduct impartial inquiry into Punjab situation, exhorted people to contribute to relief fund.
- August 19.** In Bombay, announced at *satyagrahis'* meeting his intention to start a Gujarati paper on lines of *Young India* and to resume *satyagraha* against Rowlatt Act after petitioning Government.
- Aug. 22.** Appeal to Lord Willingdon against proposal to extern Esther Faering from India; pleaded that she might be allowed to join Sabar-mati Ashram.
- September 3.** Viceroy announced appointment of Commission to go into question of Punjab troubles; referred to commissions to set right problems regarding South Africa and Fiji.
- September 7.** Gandhiji opened Gujarat Swadeshi Store in Girgaum, Bombay; spoke on *swadeshi*; participated in Swadeshi Sabha meeting. First issue of *Navajivan* in Gujarati was published.
- September 8.** Government of India telegraphed Bombay and Madras Governments that "existing orders against Gandhiji should be relaxed and all restrictions removed when Lord Hunter arrives in India".
- September 18.** In Bombay, spoke on Khilafat at public meeting.
- September 21.** Opened school for untouchables in Ahmedabad. Public meetings held in Madras and Wardha to celebrate 51st birthday of Gandhiji. Wardha citizens presented purse to be placed at Gandhiji's disposal.
- September 29.** On return to Ahmedabad, Gandhiji wired Bombay Government withdrawing apology given by *Navajivan* publishers for supposed breach of law regarding newspaper publication.
- October 1.** In Bombay presided over public meeting at Excelsior Theatre,



to celebrate 73rd birthday of Annie Besant; opened Kalbadevi Shuddha Swadeshi Bhandar.

Government of India asked Punjab, Delhi and Madras to withdraw restrictions imposed upon Gandhiji.

**October 7.** *Young India* was reported to have been taken over to Ahmedabad.

Gandhiji received letter intimating Bombay Governor's approval of *swadeshi* movement.

**October 8.** First issue of *Young India* under Gandhiji's editorship appeared.

**October 15.** Restrictions imposed on April 9, 1919, prohibiting Gandhiji's entry into Punjab, were removed. Bombay High Court warned lawyers who took *satyagraha* pledge.

**October 17.** Khilafat Day observed all over India.

Informed Madras Governor of Esther Faering's arrival at Ashram.

**October 24.** Lahore citizens accorded warm reception to Gandhiji.

**October 27.** Gandhiji had interview with Lt.-Governor, Sir Edward Maclagan and Deputy Commissioner.

**October 28.** Addressed students at Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhri's house.

Left for Delhi with C.F. Andrews to attend Punjab Inquiry Committee meeting.

**October 29.** Attended Punjab Inquiry Committee meeting; met Lord Hunter and other officials.

Addressed public meeting under Swami Shraddhanand's chairmanship.

**October 31.** Wired Sabarmati Ashram not to have "peace celebrations" on December 13 and 14 if Khilafat question remained unsettled.

**November 1.** Gandhiji gave interview to Associated Press of India on South African Commission.

**November 3.** First open session of Punjab Inquiry Committee convened. Gandhiji was reported as taking evidence in martial law cases.

**November 4.** At Amritsar Golden Temple, was presented with a turban; spoke on *swadeshi* at women's meeting; visited Jallianwala Bagh and Khalsa College. Left for Lahore with Andrews.

**November 11.** Held conference with Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das and Andrews.

**November 21.** Recorded statements from witnesses at Gujranwala; addressed women's meeting.

**November 23.** Spoke at Khilafat Conference at Delhi attended exclusively by Muslims.

**November 24.** Presided over joint Hindu-Muslim session of Khilafat Conference; spoke in Hindi. Resolution declared Indians' unwillingness to participate in peace celebrations until Khilafat question was settled.

Advisory committee against peace celebrations formed.

**December 5.** In Sheikhupura, Gandhiji addressed meeting on Hindu-Muslim unity.

Indian Reforms Bill passed third reading in House of Commons.

**December 24.** Reforms Bill received Royal assent; Royal Proclamation announcing clemency to political prisoners issued.

**December 29.** Gandhiji attended Indian National Congress session at Amritsar; moved resolution regarding South African Indians' hardships. Attended All-India Muslim League session.



**December 30.** Moved resolution at Indian National Congress session on Punjab and Gujarat disturbances.

## 1920

**January 1.** At Congress session, supported resolution on *swaraj* but urged acceptance of Reforms.

**January 5.** Submitted statement to Disorders Inquiry Committee and informed it of his readiness to give oral testimony.

**January 9.** Appeared before Disorders Inquiry Committee at Ahmedabad.

**January 11.** Invited Lord Hunter and members of Disorders Inquiry Committee to visit Sabarmati Ashram.

**January 15.** Left Ahmedabad for Delhi in connection with Khilafat Deputation.

**January 19.** Had interview with Viceroy, as member of Khilafat Deputation.

**February 3.** Gandhiji wrote to Chief Secretary, Punjab Government, regarding discharge of political and Martial Law prisoners.

**February 9.** At Lahore, Gandhiji gave interview to Press on South African Commission.

**February 14.** Issued appeal for Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund.

**February 15.** Wrote to Chief Secretary, Punjab Government, asking for inquiry into atrocities perpetrated by officials during recruiting campaign in Sargodha.

Completed his tour of the Punjab, commenced on January 23, in connection with the work of the Congress Inquiry Committee on the Punjab disorders.

**February 20.** Draft of the Congress Report on the Punjab disorders submitted to Motilal Nehru, President of the Congress.

**February 25.** In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji addressed meeting of mill-hands held to consider formation of Labour Union.

**March 17.** In London, Lloyd George gave interview to Indian Khilafat Deputation.

**March 19.** Khilafat Day. In Bombay, Gandhiji addressed Khilafat Day meeting.

**March 25.** Congress Sub-committee Report on the Punjab disorders published.

**March 29.** Government of India affirmed that holy places of Hedjaz would remain under independent Moslem control.

**April 2.** At Ahmedabad, Gandhiji and Rabindranath Tagore attended sixth Gujarati Literary Conference.

Gandhiji, in evening, spoke at a meeting on "Literature from Society's Point of View".

**April 3.** Bombay Provincial Conference demanded impeachment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others.

In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji addressed Gujarati Literary Conference on "Gujarati Literature from People's Point of View". In evening, Rabindranath Tagore addressed public meeting in English; Gandhiji translated speech.

**April 6.** Gandhiji addressed National Week Meeting in Bombay. Issued another appeal for Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund.

**April 11.** Gandhiji, in letter to *The Bombay Chronicle*, again appealed for contributions to Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund.



- April 13.** In Bombay, Gandhiji addressed meeting organized by Home Rule League and National Union in connection with National Week. Rabindranath Tagore sent a message to the meeting.  
Gandhiji wired to Private Secretary to Viceroy seeking Viceroy's permission to go to England to acquaint Ministers there with Muslim sentiment over Khilafat.
- After April 13.** Gandhiji cabled to Secretary of State for India seeking Government's approval for his visit to England in connection with Khilafat question.
- April 26.** Home Rule League meeting held at Ahmedabad to protest against deportation of B. G. Horniman; Gandhiji presided.
- April 28.** Gandhiji joined Home Rule League and became its president.
- May 9.** Gandhiji, writing in *Navajivan*, appealed for funds for famine relief in Orissa.
- May 12.** Gandhiji, writing in *Young India*, again appealed for funds for famine relief in Orissa.  
At Bombay, Gandhiji attended Khilafat Committee meeting.
- May 18.** Gandhiji, in a Press statement, called for revision of peace terms presented to Turkey by Allies.
- May 23.** In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji addressed meeting of mill-hands on settlement of their strike.
- May 28.** Report of Hunter Committee, Government of India Despatch and Montagu's reply published.
- June 3.** Meeting of All-India Central Khilafat Committee held at Allahabad; Gandhiji spoke on non-co-operation.
- June 5.** In Nadiad, Gandhiji performed opening ceremony of Swadeshi Bhandar.
- June 13.** Gandhiji, in a Press statement, opposed scheme of repatriation recommended by South African Enquiry Commission.
- June 22.** Gandhiji, in letter to Viceroy, gave notice of non-co-operation with Government in protest against unjust peace terms presented to Turkey by Allies and forwarded Muslim representation on the subject to Viceroy.
- June 26.** In Bombay, Gandhiji spoke at public meeting held to protest against Hunter Committee Report.
- June 27.** Turkey submitted counter-proposals to Treaty terms presented by Allies.
- June 30.** Gandhiji, in a Press statement, called upon people not to seek election to Legislative Councils under Reforms Act of 1919.
- July 1.** Gandhiji wrote to Press on interim report of South African Commission regarding repatriation of Indians.
- July 2.** Wrote to N. C. Kelkar on draft constitution of Congress.
- July 4.** In *Navajivan* article, Gandhiji detailed steps for starting non-co-operation from August 1.
- July 6.** Churchill announced in House of Commons Army Council's conclusion that Gen. Dyer was guilty of error of judgment and that he should not receive any office under Crown.
- Before July 7.** Gandhiji issued Press statement on non-co-operation and sent cable to Mahomed Ali at London.  
Non-co-operation Committee issued statement on methods and programme of non-co-operation.
- July 7.** In Bombay, Gandhiji spoke at women's meeting. In *Young India*, pleaded for boycott of Prince of Wales' visit.



- July 11.** In *Navajivan* article appealed to Gujaratis to take the lead in non-co-operation. In another article he asked them to contribute money for Shantiniketan. His message on non-co-operation was read out at Rajakiya Mandal meeting, Nadiad.
- July 15.** In Jullundur, spoke at meeting appealing to Hindus and Muslims to support non-co-operation.
- July 16.** In Amritsar spoke at non-co-operation meeting under auspices of Khilafat Committee.
- July 17.** In Lahore, spoke on khilafat and non-co-operation.
- July 18.** In Lahore, spoke on boycott of reformed councils. All-India Muslim League's Council condemned findings of majority in Hunter Committee Report.
- July 19.** In Rawalpindi, Gandhiji spoke on khilafat.
- July 20.** In Gujarkhan, Gandhiji spoke on communal unity and khilafat.
- July 21.** Instructions of Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay, for *hartal* on August 1 published.  
In *Young India*, Gandhiji wrote on "The Music of the Spinning-wheel".
- July 23.** In Hyderabad (Sind), spoke at Khilafat Conference.
- July 24.** Sent telegram to A.V. Thakkar not to go to British Guiana before finishing famine relief work in Orissa. Addressed students at Sind National College.  
Supported non-co-operation resolution at Khilafat Conference.
- On or before July 25.** Sent telegram to Caliphate Workers' League, Delhi, not to violate Seditious Meetings Act.
- July 28.** In *Young India*, replied to Montagu on the khilafat agitation.  
Gandhiji and Shaukat Ali sent Khilafat Day messages to Madras Presidency.  
In Bombay, Gandhiji addressed non-co-operation meeting.
- July 31.** Lokamanya Tilak passed away at midnight in Bombay.  
Gandhiji and Shaukat Ali issued Non-co-operation Committee's directions in a message on observance of Khilafat Day on August 1.
- August 1.** Third Khilafat Day—Gandhiji inaugurated non-co-operation movement.  
Wrote letter to Viceroy renouncing Kaiser-i-Hind and other medals.  
Addressed meeting in Bombay under auspices of Central Khilafat Committee.
- August 4.** In *Young India*, Gandhiji paid tribute to Tilak and replied to manifesto against non-co-operation by Chandavarkar and others.
- August 11.** Left Bombay on tour of South India.  
Explained non-violent non-co-operation in article in *Young India*.
- August 12.** Arrived at Madras.  
Interviewed by *The Madras Mail* representative on non-co-operation.  
Addressed public meeting at Madras Beach on non-co-operation programme.
- August 15.** Spoke on rights and duties of labour at meeting under auspices of Central Labour Board.
- August 19.** Spoke on non-co-operation at Mangalore.
- August 22.** In Madras, addressed students of Law College.
- August 28.** Moved resolution on non-co-operation at Gujarat Political Conference.
- August 29.** Spoke on boycott at Gujarat Political Conference.
- August 31.** Took pledge to wear *khadi* for life.



- September 1.** In *Young India*, replied to Montagu and the Viceroy, and wrote on the Gujarat Political Conference.
- September 4-9.** Special session of Indian National Congress at Calcutta. Resolutions adopted regarding non-co-operation, Hunter Committee Report and British Cabinet's attitude on Punjab atrocities.
- September 5.** At Congress Subjects Committee meeting, Gandhiji moved resolution on non-co-operation.
- September 8.** Gandhiji's resolution on non-co-operation carried by majority at Calcutta Congress.  
All-Indian Muslim League passed Gandhiji's resolution on non-co-operation.
- September 9.** Gandhiji gave interview to Associated Press of India on Indians abroad.  
Spoke at special A.I.C.C. meeting at Calcutta to consider action on non-co-operation resolution.
- September 17.** In Shantiniketan, Gandhiji spoke to inmates.
- September 22.** A.I.C.C. Sub-Committee consisting of Gandhiji, Motilal Nehru and V. J. Patel issued report on draft instructions for Congress organization.
- Before September 25.** All-India Home Rule League with Gandhiji as president issued circular letter for carrying out special Congress resolution on non-co-operation.
- September 25.** Gandhiji sent to Chairman, A.I.C.C., draft of Congress Constitution.  
Gandhiji's letter to every voter on his duty published
- On or After September 27.** Gandhiji sent message to Indians in East Africa.
- September 28.** In Ahmedabad, addressed students of Gujarat College on boycott of schools and colleges, V. J. Patel presiding.
- October 6.** In Surat, spoke to students and teachers.  
M. A. Jinnah and 19 others resigned membership of Swarajya Sabha in protest against its new Constitution.
- October 8.** Gandhiji spoke at Rohtak.  
In Bombay, Gandhiji's message to Indian women was read out at Bhagini Samaj meeting celebrating his birthday.
- October 11.** In Moradabad, Gandhiji spoke at U.P. Conference.
- October 18.** Spoke at Amritsar.  
Met students of Khalsa College.
- October 19.** In Lahore, spoke on non-co-operation.
- October 24.** Wrote letter to trustees of Aligarh College.  
Wrote on All-India Home Rule League reconstituted as "Swarajya Sabha".
- October 25.** Wrote to M. A. Jinnah regarding latter's resignation from Swarajya Sabha.
- October 27.** *Young India* published Gandhiji's letter "To Every Englishman in India".  
In Dakor, Gandhiji addressed public meeting and women's meeting.
- November 3.** Wrote in *Young India* on Congress Constitution.
- November 7.** Gandhiji's articles, "If I am Arrested" and "What to Do on the 16th November", published in *Navajivan*. In Satara, Gandhiji spoke at public meeting.
- November 15.** In Ahmedabad, delivered inaugural speech as Chancellor of Gujarat Vidyapith.



- November 19.** Gandhiji, in letter to *The Bombay Chronicle*, denied report that he favoured adoption of Urdu as national script.
- November 21.** Gave interview to Associated Press of India.
- November 23.** At Agra, addressed public meeting and students' meeting.
- November 27.** Spoke to Benares Hindu University students and at public meeting.
- November 29.** Addressed women's meeting at Allahabad. Later, in public meeting, asked Hindus not to suspect the Ali Brothers.
- December 1.** In Allahabad, spoke at opening of Tilak Vidyalyaya.
- December 2.** Addressed public meetings in Phulwari Shariff and in Patna.
- December 4.** Spoke at women's meeting in Patna and at public meeting in Arrah.
- December 8.** Spoke at Muzaffarpur.  
At Bettiah, spoke on cow-protection.  
Writing in *Young India*, discussed Lord Ronaldshay's comments on *Hind Swaraj* and defined his conception of *swaraj* as being synonymous with *moksha*.
- December 9.** News received that Judicial Committee of Privy Council had rejected Kalinath Ray's appeal against his conviction by Martial Law Court in the Punjab.  
Gandhiji spoke at Motihari.
- December 11.** Spoke at public meeting in Monghyr, enumerated constituents of non-co-operation.
- December 13.** In Calcutta, spoke at opening of National Madrasa and at public meeting.
- December 22.** Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru assumed charge as Law Member of Viceroy's Executive Council.  
In Nagpur, Gandhiji presided over Weavers' Conference and *Antyaj* Conference.
- December 26.** Thirty-fifth session of Indian National Congress commenced at Nagpur under the presidentship of C. Vijayaraghavachariar.
- December 28.** Gandhiji moved resolution on new Congress creed in meeting of Subjects Committee.  
Later, spoke on above resolution in plenary session.
- December 29.** Lord Sinha assumed office as Governor of Bihar and Orissa.  
Gandhiji, in speech on foreign propaganda at the Congress session at Nagpur, said that the British Committee and the journal *India* be wound up.
- December 30.** Spoke on non-co-operation resolution in Congress session.
- December 31.** Spoke on Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund in Congress session.

### 1921

- January 1.** Surendranath Banerjea knighted.  
At Nagpur, Gandhiji attended All-India Congress Committee and Working Committee meetings.
- January 6.** Gandhiji, in speech at public meeting in Chhindwara, explained Nagpur Congress resolution.
- January 12.** Model rules of Provincial Congress Committee, drafted by Gandhiji, published in *Young India*.  
In Madras, the Duke of Connaught opened new Legislative Council.
- January 13.** Gandhiji spoke to students of Gujarat Mahavidyalaya, Ahmedabad.
- January 19.** At Nadiad, Gandhiji addressed meetings of students, teachers and merchants.



At Vadtal, spoke at public meeting and meeting of *sadhus*.

In open letter in *Young India* addressing "Young Bengalis", asked them to practise tolerance and non-co-operation and to take to spinning.

**January 23.** In Calcutta, spoke at students' meeting under presidentship of C. R. Das, and at a women's meeting at the residence of C. R. Das.

**January 26.** In Calcutta, spoke at meeting of merchants.

Writing about his book *Hind Swaraj* in *Young India*, said that just then he was not aiming at the *swaraj* described therein.

**January 27.** Spoke at opening of Tilak National School in Calcutta.

**January 29.** Spoke to post-graduate and law students at Calcutta.

**January 30.** At Gujranwala, Punjab Students Conference passed resolution welcoming Congress resolution on non-co-operation.

Gandhiji, C. R. Das and Mahomed Ali sent a joint message of congratulations to the conference on their resolution. Gandhiji attended birth anniversary celebrations of Swami Vivekananda at Belur Math, near Calcutta.

**February 1.** At Calcutta, the Duke of Connaught inaugurated new Bengal Legislative Council.

Gandhiji spoke at meetings held in Mirzapur Square and Wellington square, Calcutta, to express disappointment with Mohtagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

**Before February 2.** Gandhiji, in letter to Duke of Connaught, explained that non-participation in welcome to him was a demonstration not against him but against the system he had come to uphold and asked him to study and appreciate the view-point of non-co-operation.

**February 6.** In Patna, spoke at opening ceremony of Bihar National University and National College and at public meeting.

**February 10.** At Banaras, spoke at founding of Kashi Vidyapith. Spoke at Fyzabad.

**February 13.** At Delhi, spoke at opening ceremony of Tibbia College.

**February 15.** At Bhiwani, spoke at Hariana Rural Conference presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai.

**February 16.** At Rohtak, addressed Rural Conference, visited Jat School and laid foundation-stone of Vaishya High School.

**February 20.** At Nankana Sahib, near Lahore, 160 Akāli Sikhs were massacred on the *gurudwara* premises by faction led by Mahant Naranadas.

**February 25.** At Shri, near Lyallpur, Gandhiji spoke on Nankana Sahib tragedy and counselled patience in acquiring control over *gurudwaras*.

**February 26.** In Lucknow, spoke at District Khilafat Conference.

**March 3.** Gandhiji, along with Shaukat Ali, visited *gurudwara* at Nankana Sahib and appealed to Sikhs to dedicate their bravery to service of the country.

**March 4.** Gandhiji addressed message to Lahore Sikhs on Nankana Sahib tragedy.

**March 16.** In Bombay, spoke at mass meeting and at National College; gave interview to *The Daily Herald*.

Writing in *Young India*, fixed one crore of rupees as the sum to be collected for Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund by June 30, 1921.

**March 20.** Discussing the forthcoming Satyagraha Week, in *Navajivan*, advised people to spend it in pure *tapascharya*.

**March 23.** Spoke at two meetings in Cuttack.



In open letter to Parsis, in *Young India*, asked them to associate themselves with the temperance movement in the country.

**March 30.** In Vijayanagaram, spoke at public meeting and pleaded for Hindi being made *lingua franca* of India.

Wrote in *Young India* that the Congress Constitution, if honestly worked, could oust British Government.

**March 31.** In Bezwada, moved four resolutions at A.I.C.C. meeting.

**April 1.** In Bezwada, Gandhiji spoke in reply to address presented by Municipal Council.

Later spoke at A.I.C.C. meeting.

**April 2.** In Cocanada, Gandhiji spoke in reply to address of welcome presented by Municipal Council.

**April 7.** In Nellore, declared open Tilak Vidyalyaya; spoke at public meeting.

**April 8.** In Madras, spoke at public meeting and appealed for unity between Brahmins and non-Brahmins.

**April 10.** In Bombay, spoke at public meeting held under auspices of Swarajya Sabha and Central Khilafat Committee.

**April 13.** In article in *Young India*, recommended adoption of a National Flag "to live and die for".

In Ahmedabad, in speech at public meeting, declared: "We want swaraj which should be *Ramarajya*". Later, spoke at Suppressed Classes Conference.

**April 16.** Presided over Taluka Conference at Jalol; was presented with purse. Spoke to farmers in the evening.

**April 18.** Reached Surat in the morning.

Replied to welcome address presented by Surat Municipality stressing need for introducing spinning-wheels and abolishing untouchability. Addressed students of Patidar Vidyarthi Ashram. Spoke to women in the afternoon and received donations from them for Tilak Swaraj Fund.

Left for Olpad, taluka town.

**April 26.** Reached Karachi in the morning; addressed crowded public meeting, received purse of Rs. 25,000. Told municipal councillors of Karachi to resign if they could not nationalize education by teaching Hindi, organizing spinning class, and meeting expenses from municipal fund, without requiring Government grant. In interview with members of Karachi Bar advised them to draw lots to decide which pleaders ought to suspend practice who should non-co-operate, while the rest should subscribe for maintenance of non-co-operators and their families.

Riot broke out at Malegaon, Nasik district.

**May 1.** Reached Ahmedabad at night.

**May 4.** Reached Kapadvanj in the morning, addressed public meeting. Spoke at women's meeting in Kathlal.

Left for Nadiad at night by car.

**May 7.** Reached Bombay in the morning; addressed Maharashtra Provincial Conference.

**May 9.** Attended marriage of Sarup Kumari Nehru (Vijayalakshmi) with R. S. Pandit.

**May 10.** Received address of welcome from Motilal Nehru on behalf of citizens at Allahabad District Conference which he addressed.



- May 13.** Had interview with the Viceroy at Simla.
- May 14.** Had further interview with Viceroy. Taken in procession and accorded reception; spoke at public meeting.  
Addressed meeting of ladies exhorting them to take to *swadeshi* and contribute liberally to Tilak Swaraj Fund; collected cash and gold ornaments.
- May 24.** At meeting in Barsi, urged public to contribute generously to Tilak Swaraj Fund and to take to *swadeshi*.
- May 29.** At mass meeting in Bombay, exhorted people to contribute liberally to Tilak Swaraj Fund.
- June 5.** Addressed Gujarat Political Conference.
- June 8.** Addressed meetings at Sarkhej, Samod; collected contributions to Tilak Swaraj Fund. Held discussion with lawyers at Ahmedabad.
- June 12.** Presided over and spoke at public meeting in Ahmedabad.
- June 15.** Attended citizens' reception at Ghatkopar, Bombay; purse of Rs. 40,000 presented for Tilak Swaraj Fund on behalf of merchant community.
- June 18.** Addressed Council of Parsi Central Association on non-co-operation.  
Refused to appear before Military Requirement Committee.
- June 19.** Spoke at public meeting at Vile Parle, Bombay; received purse for Tilak Swaraj Fund.
- June 22.** Inaugurated Lokamanya Rashtriya Kanya Shala—Bombay's first National Girls' School.
- June 26.** Addressed public meeting at Santa Cruz; received purse of Rs. 30,000 for Tilak Swaraj Fund.
- June 30.** Addressed meetings of various associations; received contributions to Tilak Swaraj Fund. Received purses from Cotton Association and Parsi Association. Target of one crore rupees fixed at Bezwada Congress for Tilak Swaraj Fund fulfilled.
- July 2.** Addressed meetings organized by Bombay Commission Agents' Association and Lingayat Commission Agents' Association.
- July 6.** Communal riot broke out at Aligarh.  
Gandhiji issued appeal to mill-owners to conduct business on national and not selfish lines and not to raise price of cloth.
- July 7.** Appealed to cloth merchants to stop import of foreign cloth.
- July 12.** Spoke on prohibition to liquor dealers at meeting organized by Parsi Rajkiya Sabha, Bombay.
- July 17.** Report of Non-co-operation Committee of Central Khilafat Committee published.  
Gandhiji addressed meeting of weavers in Bombay.
- July 20.** Received address from Poona Municipality. Spoke at inauguration of Tilak Mahavidyalaya, unveiled Tilak's statue. Later addressed public meeting which unanimously resolved to boycott foreign cloth and to use *swadeshi*.
- July 22.** Addressed two public meetings on *swadeshi* in Bombay.
- July 26.** Spoke on boycott of foreign cloth at meeting in Marwari Vidyalaya and at Byculla, Bombay.
- July 30.** Spoke on *swadeshi* to crowded meeting of Parsis, held by Parsi Rajkiya Sabha.
- July 31.** Addressed historic meeting to inaugurate *swadeshi* campaign with bonfire of foreign cloth, near Elphinstone Mill at Parel, Bombay.



- Spoke at inauguration of *khadi* exhibition organized by Rashtriya Stree Sabha, Bombay.
- August 1.** Addressed public meeting at Chowpatti in Bombay on death anniversary of Tilak.
- August 7.** Addressed mammoth public meeting at Aminuddaula Park, Lucknow.
- August 8.** Gandhiji and Central Khilafat Committee appealed to Muslims not to slaughter cows on ensuing *Id'z-zuha*.
- August 9.** Gandhiji arrived at Kanpur; addressed meetings of merchants and women; received address; spoke at public meeting; gave interview to *Aaj*.
- August 10.** Reached Allahabad in the morning and spoke to women on *swadeshi*. In the evening addressed public meeting at which Motilal Nehru presided.
- August 15.** Appealed to residents of Simla Hills not to undertake *begar* for British Government.
- August 17.** Addressed public meeting in the evening at Mirzapur Park, Calcutta.  
Received address from Seva Samiti at Sealdah station; left for Assam.
- August 21.** A Military proclamation was issued as the Moplahs in Malabar rose in revolt on August 20, set up Khilafat raj and looted Hindu zamindars.
- August 22.** In Tezpur, at public meeting, Gandhiji lit bonfire of foreign cloth.
- August 30.** From Sylhet, sent telegram and letter to Vallabhbhai Patel suggesting *hartal* in protest against visit of Prince of Wales.
- August 31.** In Chittagong, spoke to railway workers on the power of strike and told them how he had successfully guided strike of 40,000 workers in South Africa.
- September 1.** In *Young India*, wrote on "Ethics of Destruction", replying to C. F. Andrews on burning of foreign cloth; also wrote on "National Education" and discussed question of medium of instruction.
- September 4.** In *Navajivan*, wrote on "Moplah Outbreak" and on "Preparations for Congress" in Ahmedabad.
- September 5.** Wrote to Vallabhbhai Patel on postponement of civil disobedience.
- September 6.** In Calcutta, met Rabindranath Tagore.
- September 8.** Addressed public meetings on boycott of foreign cloth.
- September 14.** Gandhiji's message to Bombay citizens on arrest of Mahomed Ali.
- After September 14.** Addressed circular letter to leaders inviting them to meet in Bombay to consider arrest of Ali Brothers and others.
- September 15.** Arrived at Madras.  
Interviewed by representatives of *Daily Express* and *Madras Mail*.  
Spoke at public meeting.  
Appealed to Hindi-lovers to give financial help for spreading Hindi in Madras.
- September 18.** C. R. Das elected President of Congress.  
In Kumbakonam, Gandhiji spoke at public meeting.
- September 22.** In Madura, issued message on *swadeshi* and loin-cloth.  
In Tiruppathur, spoke at citizens' meeting.



- Addressed meetings at Kanadukathan, Kottayur and Devakottah.
- September 24.** Issued appeal to Muslims of India on arrest of Ali Brothers.
- September 25.** In *Navajivan*, wrote on Hindu-Muslim unity.
- September 26.** Trial of Ali Brothers and others commenced at Karachi.
- September 29.** In *Young India*, wrote on "Tampering with Loyalty" in reply to Bombay Governor's warning against sedition.
- October 2.** In *Navajivan*, wrote on "My Loin-cloth".  
Sent on his birthday a message on *swadeshi* to the Bhagini Samaj, Bombay.
- October 4.** Issued, with other leaders, Manifesto appealing to soldiers and civilians to sever connection with Government.
- October 5.** In letter to *The Bombay Chronicle*, appealed to people to remain peaceful in the event of his arrest.
- October 6.** In *Navajivan*, wrote on problems of Indians in East Africa.
- October 9.** In *Navajivan*, wrote advising observance of strict non-violence, adoption of *swadeshi*, etc., in the event of his arrest. In *Navajivan*, urged Gujarat to set an example by vigorous prosecution of non-co-operation programme.
- October 13.** "The Great Sentinel", reply to Rabindranath Tagore, appeared in *Young India*.
- October 16.** In *Navajivan*, Gandhiji urged Bombay to complete *swadeshi* programme, to be the first province to start peaceful revolt in the form of civil disobedience.  
In his notes in *Navajivan*, criticized colour bar in Fiji and East Africa and untouchability in India.
- October 20.** In *Young India*, wrote on "The Meaning of the Moplah Rising".
- October 23.** In Ahmedabad, spoke on *swadeshi* to women.  
In *Navajivan*, appealed to Ahmedabad workers to give up drink habit.
- October 27.** In *Young India*, in his article "Honour the Prince" while urging complete boycott of functions, Gandhiji appealed for "forbearance towards those who differ from us".
- October 29.** In Ahmedabad, spoke at bonfire of foreign cloth.
- October 31.** Began to spin half an hour every day before the second meal, vowing to forgo the meal in case he failed to do so.
- November 4.** In Delhi, spoke on civil disobedience resolution at A.I.C.C. meeting.
- November 5.** In Delhi, spoke on resolution regarding renouncing of government service including service in army.
- November 10.** In Lahore, spoke at public meeting on conviction of Ali Brothers.
- Before November 17.** In message to Bombay public meeting, suggested steps to boycott celebrations in honour of Prince of Wales.
- November 17.** In Bombay, addressed public meeting urging firm adherence to complete non-violence, *swadeshi* and Hindu-Muslim unity. Outbreak of riots in Bombay on arrival of Prince of Wales.  
In *Young India*, in an article, "Introspection", Gandhiji explained meaning of his threat of suicide if *swaraj* was not attained by end of December.
- November 18.** In "A Deep Stain" condemned riots in Bombay.
- November 19.** Commenced fast; appealed to citizens of Bombay for peace and communal amity.
- November 20.** Issued appeal to *Mavalis* of Bombay.



**November 21.** Broke fast at a gathering of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis. In a statement, appealed for communal harmony.

**November 22.** His message to co-workers published in *Young India*.

**November 26.** Viceroy declared Government's policy on non-co-operation in course of reply to Punjab Chamber of Commerce deputation.

Gandhiji issued appeal to citizens of Bombay on communal amity.

**December 2.** Lala Lajpat Rai, K. Santhanam and others arrested under Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act.

**December 3.** Gandhiji complimented people of Bardoli on removal of untouchability.

**December 4.** In *Navajivan* article, characterized love as master key of non-co-operation.

**December 6.** Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and others arrested at Allahabad.

**On or After December 7.** Gandhiji congratulated C. R. Das on arrest of his wife and other women of Bengal.

**December 11.** Harilal Gandhi and other volunteers arrested.

**December 15.** Commenting on the arrest of C. R. Das's wife, appealed to women to take up Government's challenge.

Telegraphed congratulations to Sri Prakasa on the arrest of his father, Babu Bhagwandas.

**December 17.** Jawaharlal Nehru was sentenced to 6 months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 under Criminal Law Amendment Act.

**December 19.** Gandhiji, in telegram to Malaviya, said that Round Table Conference would be abortive unless Government was truly penitent and fulfilled conditions stated by him.

In telegram to C. R. Das and Abul Kalam Azad, stated conditions for waiving proposed *hartal*.

**December 20.** At Ahmedabad, Gandhiji gave interview to Associated Press regarding proposed Round Table Conference.

**On or after December 20.** In telegram to Malaviya, Gandhiji expressed inability to give undertaking to stop non-co-operation pending proposed Round Table Conference.

**December 21.** At Calcutta, Viceroy told deputation led by Malaviya that it was impossible even to consider convening a conference if "agitation in open and avowed defiance of law" was meanwhile to be continued.

**December 22.** First handwritten issue of the *Independent* appeared.

**December 23.** At Ahmedabad, Gandhiji attended Congress Working Committee meeting which selected Hakim Ajmal Khan as President for forthcoming Congress session, in absence of C. R. Das, President-elect.

**December 24.** Mahadev Desai sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment for publishing handwritten issue of the *Independent*. At Ahmedabad, Gandhiji, in interview to Associated Press regarding Viceroy's speech of December 21, said that Government had to stop its offensive activity aimed at lawful, disciplined, non-violent agitation and that there could be no yielding on right of holding public meetings and forming associations.

**December 25.** In Congress Subjects Committee meeting at Ahmedabad moved main resolution of session.



**December 27.** Spoke at Subjects Committee meeting.

Open session of 36th Indian National Congress commenced at Ahmedabad; Gandhiji attended.

Gandhiji attended Khilafat Conference.

**December 28.** In morning, spoke at Subjects Committee meeting on proposed Round Table Conference.

In open session, moved resolution on non-violent non-co-operation.

Also spoke on Hasrat Mohani's motion on complete independence.

**December 29.** Gave interview to Congress delegates from Bengal. In *Young India*, outlined code of behaviour for non-co-operators in jail.

**December 30.** Gave interview to Congress leaders from U.P. Attended Muslim League session.

## 1922

**January 5.** Writing in *Young India*, Gandhiji described right of free speech and free association as "the immediate issue" before the country.

**January 8.** Writing in *Navajivan*, Gandhiji discussed Khilafat and Muslim League conferences and suggested steps for Hindu-Muslim unity.

**Before January 14.** At Bombay, Gandhiji gave interview to *The Bombay Chronicle* regarding his participation in forthcoming Leaders' Conference.

**January 14.** Leaders' Conference commenced in Bombay under Sir Sankaran Nair's chairmanship; Gandhiji spoke. Conference appointed Committee to frame resolutions.

**January 15.** In the morning, Committee appointed by Conference held a meeting; Gandhiji attended. Sir Sanakaran Nair walked out. In the evening, the Conference was resumed; Sir M. Visveswarayya elected chairman instead. Gandhiji agreed to postponement of civil disobedience till January 31, 1922, pending negotiations with Viceroy for Round Table Conference.

**January 17.** At Bombay, Congress Working Committee considered recommendations of Leaders' Conference and passed resolution postponing "offensive" civil disobedience till January 31, 1922.

Sir Sankaran Nair's letter discussing Leaders' Conference and explaining his standpoint appeared in *The Times of India*. Gandhiji gave interview to *The Bombay Chronicle* regarding Sir Sankaran Nair's letter to *The Times of India*.

**January 19.** Gandhiji, in article, "Worse than Martial Law", in *Young India*, condemned Government's "savage repression". In another article, "Hooliganism in Madras", condemned disturbances during *hartal* on January 13.

Babu Bhagwandas released.

**January 26.** In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji addressed gathering at Satyagraha Ashram.

**January 29.** In Bardoli, spoke at Bardoli Taluka Conference; Conference passed resolution that Bardoli Taluk would immediately commence civil disobedience unless Working Committee decided otherwise or unless Round Table Conference was held.

**January 30.** In letter to *Patels* of Bardoli, asked them to submit to him letters of resignation from Government service, for use later.

**February 1.** Gandhiji, in letter to Viceroy, informed him of Bardoli's



decision to commence mass civil disobedience unless Viceroy declared in clear terms policy of absolute non-interference with non-violent activities, freed Press from all administrative control and released all non-violent non-co-operation prisoners.

**February 4.** At Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur district in U.P., rioting took place; police station was attacked and twenty-one policemen and watchmen were killed. Gandhiji came to know of the details four days later.

**February 5.** At Bardoli, Gandhiji gave interview to *The Bombay Chronicle* on Bardoli's fitness for civil disobedience. Issued first of a series of leaflets in Gujarati, addressed to people of Bardoli.

**February 6.** Government issued *communiqué* in reply to Gandhiji's letter of February 1 to Viceroy.

**February 7.** Gandhiji issued to the Press his rejoinder to Government *communiqué*.

**February 8.** From Bardoli, sent confidential circular letter to members of Congress Working Committee inviting their opinion on suspension of civil disobedience to be considered at a meeting on February 11.

**February 9.** Ahmedabad Municipality suspended.

**February 10.** At Bardoli, Gandhiji in a meeting of Congress workers announced his decision to stop civil disobedience movement immediately.

**February 12.** Gandhiji commenced five-day fast as penance for Chauri Chaura incidents.

Resolution passed at Working Committee meeting that in view of Chauri Chaura incidents civil disobedience be suspended.

Writing in *Navajivan*, Gandhiji deplored the Chauri Chaura incidents. In another article, reiterated conditions to be observed by people for obtaining *swaraj*.

**February 15.** At Bardoli, Gandhiji gave interview to *The Bombay Chronicle* on his future programme.

In letter to Sir Daniel Hamilton, stressed importance of the spinning-wheel for India.

**February 16.** In *Young India*, Gandhiji wrote on "The Crime of Chauri Chaura".

**February 19.** Wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru explaining resolution suspending civil disobedience.

**February 23.** Sir William Vincent made statement in Assembly on Government's policy regarding non-co-operation movement.

**February 24.** At Delhi, A.I.C.C. meeting commenced.

Viceroy gave assent to Bill for repeal of repressive laws.

**February 25.** At Delhi, A.I.C.C. meeting adopted with modifications the Working Committee's resolutions passed at Bardoli on February 12.

**February 26.** At Delhi, Gandhiji gave interview to Press on A.I.C.C. meeting and its resolutions.

**March 3.** Jawaharlal Nehru and six others released from Lucknow Jail before expiry of their term.

**March 5.** Attended Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee meeting presided over by Vallabhbhai Patel.

**March 10.** Reached Ahmedabad in the afternoon.

Arrested at 10 p.m. and taken to Sabarmati Jail.

**March 11.** Charged with promoting disaffection against Government through his writings in *Young India*; committed to Sessions. Exhorted

Ashram people in parting words to propagate peace and harmony among all communities. Message to country summed up in one word : 'Khaddar'.

**Before March 18.** Lloyd George, British Prime Minister, said in Commons that British supremacy had to be maintained, and repeated that goal of British policy in India was responsible Government as envisaged in Preamble of the Government of India Act, 1919, but not of the Dominion type.

**March 18.** Gandhiji, in jail, gave interview to *Manchester Guardian* on non-co-operation.

Tried by Sessions Court at Circuit House, Shahibagh; sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

**March 20.** At midnight, taken from Sabarmati Jail to Yeravda Prison by special train.

**March 22.** Fasted on being deprived of spinning-wheel, which was restored in the evening.

**May 6.** Informed by Government that his letter to Hakim Ajmal Khan could not be forwarded.

**May 12.** Wrote to Hakim Ajmal Khan that in view of Government's action in withholding his last letter, he would stop the quarterly communication permitted by jail rules.

**June 1.** C. Rajagopalachari took over editorship of *Young India*.

**September 13.** Gandhiji commenced week's silence.

**September 20.** Commenced one week's silence for the second time.

## 1923

**February 10.** Mulshi Peta *satyagrahis* in Yeravda Prison flogged for refusing to work.

Gandhiji sought Jail Superintendent's permission to meet Mulshi Peta prisoners.

**April 21.** Gandhiji indisposed, with severe pain in stomach.

**May 1.** Wrote to Jail Superintendent refusing special class treatment denied to other prisoners.

**May 5.** Examined by Col. Maddock, Surgeon-General.

**May 15.** Examined again by Col. Maddock.

**May 18.** Transferred to European Ward; Kasturba and others called.

**June 27.** Mulshi Peta *satyagrahis* commenced fast.

**June 29.** Approached Jail Superintendent for permission to see Mulshi Peta prisoners on their being flogged again. Discussed matter with Col. Dalziel.

**July 2.** In great physical pain at night.

**July 9.** Communicated to Jail Superintendent his decision to fast since his request to meet Mulshi Peta *satyagrahis* had been rejected.

**July 10.** Agreed to postpone fast for 48 hours on Superintendent's request.

**July 12.** Informed that he would be allowed to meet Mulshi Peta *satyagrahis* and that flogging would be resorted to only when prisoners attacked jail officials. Persuaded *satyagrahis* to give up fast.

**August 13.** Discussed with Governor, Sir George Lloyd, classification of prisoners.



**November 26.** Started writing *The History of Satyagraha in South Africa* in Gujarati.

## 1924

**January 8.** Gandhiji had severe stomach pain, passed restless night.

**January 12.** Visited by Srinivasa Sastri in Sassoon Hospital.

Operated on by Col. Maddock for appendicitis.

**January 14.** Conveyed thanks to countrymen through Dr. Phatak for deep affection shown him during critical period of health.

**January 19.** Gave interview to *The Bombay Chronicle*.

**February 2.** In interview to Dilip Kumar Roy, expressed views on music.

**February 4.** Order of unconditional release of Gandhiji issued.

**Before February 5.** Interviewed by editor of *Yug Dharma*, said he contemplated writing autobiography.

**February 5.** Release order conveyed at 8 a.m., but he continued to remain in Sassoon Hospital.

**After 5 February.** Gave Devdas answers to questions on *swaraj* from Drew Pearson.

**On or Before February 6.** Sent message to Gujarat Vidyapith that his release was no matter for rejoicing.

**Before February 7.** In interview to *The Bombay Chronicle*, expressed grief that his release was based on grounds of health.

**February 7.** Issued message to nation through Congress President Maulana Mahomed Ali that he was not happy over his release.

**February 12.** Requested Mahomed Yakub to desist from moving Assembly resolution recommending award of Nobel Peace Prize to him.

**February 28.** Gave interview to Sind deputation consisting of Jairamdas Daulatram, Kazi Abdul-Rehman, Seth Isserdas and R. K. Sidhwa.

**March 1.** Sent message of sympathy to Poona citizens' meeting, held to protest against ban on Horniman's return to India.

**March 4.** Issued statement on Akali Movement.

**March 9.** Interviewed by Associated Press on his talks with Akali deputation.

**March 10.** Addressed students of B. J. Medical School, Poona.

Left Sassoon Hospital; entrained at night for Bombay.

**March 11.** Arrived in Bombay. Stayed at Narottam Morarji's bungalow at Juhu for convalescence.

**March 15.** Issued statement on Potti Sriramulu's fast for Harijan entry to temples.

**March 17.** Resumed practice of observing silence every Monday.

**March 20.** Issued statement on Government's opium policy.

**March 29.** Had discussions regarding "No-changers" and Swarajists with Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lajpat Rai and Motilal Nehru.

**April 3.** Resumed editorship of *Young India*. Had interview with Dr. Kitchlew.

**April 4.** Held talks with Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru and Hakim Ajmal Khan on Hindu-Muslim unity.

**April 6.** Resumed editorship of *Navajivan*.

**April 11.** Prepared draft statement in connection with Council-entry.

**April 15.** Expressed views on Vykom Satyagraha in interview to *The Hindu*.

- May 16. Gandhiji had discussions with representatives of Vykom Satyagraha Committee.
- May 18. In first public appearance after release from jail, presided over Buddha Jayanti celebrations in Bombay.
- May 20. Discussions with Vykom Satyagraha Committee representatives concluded.
- May 22. Gandhiji and Swaraj Party leaders issued separate statements on Council-entry.
- May 29. Returned to Satyagraha Ashram after absence of 26 months. *Young India* article analysed Hindu-Muslim tension; its cause and cure.
- June 3. In interview to *Swatantrya*, dwelt on code of non-violence and communal disputes in Nagpur.
- June 19. Published in *Young India* four resolutions which he proposed to move at A.I.C.C. meeting.
- June 27. Moved first of his four resolutions at A.I.C.C. session at Ahmedabad.
- June 28. Addressed A.I.C.C. on the second day of its session.
- June 29. Moved his second and third resolutions at A.I.C.C.
- June 30. Spoke at informal meeting, after conclusion of A.I.C.C. session.
- July 3. Wrote in *Young India* review of A.I.C.C. proceedings.
- July 11. Addressed Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee.
- August 1. Presided over Ahmedabad Conference of Teachers of National Schools in Gujarat.
- August 7. Gave interview to Associated Press of India on criticism of his attitude to Malabar flood relief.
- August 9. Wrote to Motilal Nehru regarding the choice of Congress president at the next session of the A.I.C.C.
- August 14. In *Young India* article, Gandhiji argued against compulsory education.
- August 16. Gandhiji left Ahmedabad for Delhi in connection with Hindu-Muslim settlement on communal riots.
- August 17. Reached Delhi.  
In *Navajivan*, appealed for contributions for flood relief in Malabar.
- August 22. Interview to Associated Press of India on negotiations for a compromise between Hindus and Muslims.  
Gandhiji left Delhi for Ahmedabad *en route* to Bombay.
- August 28. In *Young India*, in article entitled "Gulbarga Gone Mad", appealed for Hindu-Muslim unity.
- August 29. Reached Bombay.  
Spoke in reply to address presented by Bombay Municipal Corporation.
- August 30. In letter to Motilal Nehru explained the terms of his "full surrender" and proposed measures to improve Congress organization. Participated in the birth anniversary celebrations of Dadabhai Naoroji organized by National Women's Council.
- August 31. In statement on unity, explained his attitude of "perfect surrender" to Motilal Nehru.  
At Excelsior Theatre, addressed Parsi Rajakiya Mandal Meeting for Malabar flood relief.  
At Bombay Provincial Congress Committee meeting replied to criticism of Spinning Resolution passed at Ahmedabad.
- September 4. In Poona, spoke at public meeting.  
Visited Servants of India Society.



- Spoke at Tilak Mahavidyalaya Convocation.
- Advised Congress workers to abdicate power and take up hand-spinning.
- September 6.** In letter to Motilal Nehru emphasized decision not to divide the Congress.
- In letter to Rajagopalachari stressed that "we must abdicate power altogether if we have faith in our mission".
- September 9-10.** Riots in Kohat; Hindus were evacuated.
- September 13.** Gandhiji left Ahmedabad for Delhi in connection with Hindu-Muslim riots.
- September 15.** In Delhi, inaugurated *The Hindustan Times*.
- September 17.** Commenced 21-day fast at Mahomed Ali's house.
- September 18.** In a statement, described 21-day fast as "penance and prayer".
- September 24.** In statement to the Press on Unity Conference stressed need to evolve "heart-unity" and not just a "patched up peace".
- September 26.** Unity Conference in Delhi passed resolution requesting Gandhiji to give up fast.
- September 27.** Gandhiji rejected Unity Conference appeal.
- October 1.** Deputation of Bombay women met Gandhiji to persuade him to give up fast.
- Gandhiji's tribute to Annie Besant on her 78th birthday was read out at a public meeting in Bombay.
- Before October 2.** Gandhiji along with Rabindranath Tagore appealed to International Opium Conference, Geneva, to adopt measures for suppression of opim traffic except for medicinal purposes.
- October 8.** In Delhi, broke his 21-day fast after making statement on Hindu-Muslim unity.
- Mahomed Ali presented Gandhiji with a cow, purchased from a butcher, for being sent to *pinjrapole*.
- October 28.** Viceroy refused permission to Gandhiji to visit Kohat.
- October 30.** In message to U.P. Political Conference, Gorakhpur, Gandhiji condemned repression in Bengal and appealed to people to preserve peace.
- November 6.** In joint statement with Swaraj Party leaders, announced agreement on concerted action, suspension of non-co-operation and Spinning Franchise.
- Spoke in reply to Calcutta Corporation address at Town Hall.
- November 7.** Explained, during discussions with No-changers, implications of agreement with Swaraj Party leaders.
- Spoke in reply to Howrah Municipal address at Town Hall.
- Interview to Associated Press of India on his agreement with Swaraj Party leaders.
- November 10.** In Delhi, interviewed by Associated Press of India, informed that Calcutta Agreement would be submitted to All-Party Conference, Bombay, for final decision.
- November 13.** In *Young India* explained the Calcutta Agreement.
- Attended funeral of Bi-Amma, mother of Ali Brothers.
- Before November 17.** In message to Tamilnad Conference, Tiruvannamalai, said the spirit of non-violence was basis of agreement with Swaraj Party leaders.

**November 21.** Spoke at Congress Working Committee meeting, Bombay. Moved the first resolution on Bengal Ordinance at All-Party Conference, Bombay.

In interview to Associated Press of India, refuted reports in local newspapers about withdrawal of Spinning Franchise.

**November 23.** At A.I.C.C. meeting, moved resolution approving the Calcutta Agreement.

At Chowpatty, spoke condoling Bi-Amma's death.

**December 5.** Reached Amritsar.

In the afternoon spoke at a big *diwan* in Golden Temple. In the evening, addressed public meeting at Jallianwala Bagh.

**December 6.** At Punjab Provincial Khilafat Conference, spoke in reply to Zafar Ali's attack on Hindu leaders.

In Lahore delivered convocation address at Punjab Qaumi Vidyapith.

**December 7.** Delivered presidential address at Punjab Provincial Conference.

**December 8.** At Gandhiji's instance the representatives of the Khilafat Conference met at Lahore to evolve methods to strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity.

**December 9.** In speech at Rawalpindi, Gandhiji advised Hindu refugees displaced by communal riots at Kohat not to return to Kohat on Government advice.

**December 11.** Left Rawalpindi in the morning for Ahmedabad; at Lahore Railway Station, *en route*, was interviewed by *The Tribune* on Kohat affairs.

**December 15.** In statement to the Press warned people not to believe unauthenticated reports of his Punjab speeches.

**December 23.** In Belgaum, A.I.C.C. formed itself into Subjects Committee with Gandhiji as president and appointed a sub-committee with 16 members to draft resolution endorsing Calcutta Agreement.

**December 25.** In Belgaum, at Subjects Committee meeting, Gandhiji appealed to No-changers to have faith in Swarajists.

**December 26.** The Indian National Congress began its 39th session under Gandhiji's presidentship. Gandhiji delivered the presidential address and spoke on the resolution endorsing Calcutta Agreement.

**December 27.** Spoke at Fifth All-India Students' Conference in the morning. At the Congress session, spoke on various resolutions and on Annie Besant's statement.

The Congress session concluded with a moving address by Gandhiji, first in Hindi and then in English.

Gandhiji spoke at Untouchability Conference.

Attended Hindu Mahasabha session held in Congress *pandal*.

**December 28.** Delivered the presidential address at Cow Protection Conference.

**December 30.** Spoke at All-India States Conference.

**December 31.** In Bombay, at annual session of All-India Muslim League, condemned Natal Boroughs Ordinance.



1925

**January 1.** In *Young India*, answered M. N. Roy's criticism of his article, "Bolshevism or Discipline?"

**January 8.** In Bhavnagar, delivered the presidential address at the Third Kathiawar Political Conference.

**January 14.** In Ahmedabad, spoke at Gujarat Provincial Conference meeting.

Delivered the convocation address at Gujarat Vidyapith.

**January 15.** In *Young India*, summarized instructions regarding working of Spinning Franchise.

At Sojitra, spoke at Petlad District Cultivators' Conference.

**January 23.** At Dehi, presided over the meeting of the All-Party Conference Committee to consider the appointment of a sub-committee to draw up a plan for *swaraj* and Hindu-Muslim Unity.

**January 24.** A sub-committee with Gandhiji as President and Motilal Nehru as General Secretary was appointed by the All-Party Conference Committee.

**January 26.** The Viceroy disallowed Motilal Nehru's bill to repeal the Bengal Ordinance.

**January 27.** Commenting on the Viceroy's speech, Gandhiji told Pressmen at Delhi that Indian opinion was unanimous in condemning the Bengal Ordinance.

**February 4.** Reached Rawalpindi with Shaukat Ali to enquire into the Kohat disturbances.

**February 5.** At Rawalpindi, addressed the Hindu refugees of Kohat. In the Legislative Assembly, a resolution for the supersession of the Bengal Ordinance by an Act was passed.

**February 6.** At Rawalpindi, Gandhiji examined Ahmed Gul, Khilafat Secretary, and Kamal Jailane, a zamindar, regarding the Kohat riots and recorded their evidence.

**February 9.** Reached Ahmedabad.

Sent a wire to the Viceroy, asking for permission to visit Kohat in the beginning of March.

**February 10.** At Sabarmati Ashram, spoke to the inmates on conversion of Hindus in Kohat.

**February 13.** Addressed a meeting at Palej.

Reached Ahmedabad.

The Viceroy sent a telegram disallowing Gandhiji's proposed tour of Kohat.

**February 15.** The Kathiawar tour commenced. A special durbar was held at Rajkot to honour Gandhiji. Thakore Saheb Lakhjiraj presented a welcome address on behalf of the Representative Assembly. Gandhiji in reply stressed the programme of *khadi* and elimination of untouchability. Inaugurated a national school and a Jain hostel at Rajkot.

**February 19.** Reached Porbunder from Rajkot.

Sent a telegram to the Viceroy repeating his request for permission to visit Kohat in order to assist the Government. Replied to an address by Porbunder citizens. Spoke at a meeting of *Antyajas*.

**February 22.** Reached Ahmedabad.

In interview to A.P.I. stressed the need for prohibition in the Kathiawar States.

The Viceroy, in a telegram, reiterated his decision not to allow Gandhiji to visit Kohat.

**February 23.** Gandhiji wrote to Shaukat Ali regarding their differences on Kohat affairs and suggested that the whole matter be examined by Hakim Ajmal Khan or Dr. Ansari.

**February 26.** In *Young India* article, criticised the Kohat settlement but ruled out civil resistance.

**March 1.** Presided over the meeting of the All-Party Conference; Committee's sub-committee on Hindu-Muslim unity at Raisina Hostel, Delhi, adjourned *sine die*.

**March 2.** Gandhiji and Motilal Nehru issued a joint statement explaining the reasons for the sub-committee's adjournment. Gandhiji replied to the questions of Sten Konow, a Norwegian Indologist.

**March 7.** Reached Madras.

Gave interviews to *Swadesamitran*, *Free Press of India*, and *Swarajya* representatives.

The Madras Corporation presented a welcome address.

Spoke at a mass meeting at Tilak Ghat explaining his Vykom mission.

Left for Vykom.

**March 10.** At Vykom, attended morning prayers with the *satyagrahis*.

Held discussions with the Commissioner of Police, Trivandrum, V.V.S. Aiyar of the Tamil Gurukul and the caste Hindu oppositionists.

Addressed a public meeting on the Vykom satyagraha; received an address from the Ezhavas of Ambalapuzha.

**March 11.** Spoke to the inmates of Satyagraha Ashram on the duty of *satyagrahis*.

Left Vykom.

Reached Allepey.

**March 12.** Reached Quilon.

Spoke on the Vykom satyagraha in reply to a welcome address presented by the Quilon Municipality.

Wrote in *Young India* answering Romain Rolland on *swadeshi*; explained his views on birth control.

**March 13.** At Varkalai, received a welcome address from the Ezhavas and other untouchables at Sivgiri Hall.

Reached Trivandrum.

Replied to a students' address at the Science College. Met members of the royal family and the Dewan of Travancore.

Several public bodies presented welcome addresses at a mammoth meeting at the Cantonment Maidan.

**March 17.** Indanthuruthi Nambudiri, a spokesman of the caste Hindus, gave Gandhiji a copy of *Shankara Smriti*.

Gandhiji discussed the future of *satyagraha* with members of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee.

Addressed the Pulayas at Satyagraha Ashram.

Left Vykom.

**March 18.** Reached Parur.

The citizens of Parur and others presented welcome addresses. At Alwaye, Gandhiji spoke at the Union Christian College and the Advaita Ashram.

Reached Trichur at 2 p.m.



Addresses were presented by the Trichur Municipality and the Nambudiri Yogakshema Sabha.

Gandhiji visited the ex-Maharaja of Cochin.

Wrote to the Police Commissioner, Trivandrum, in connection with removal of barriers and the lifting of prohibition orders.

**March 23.** The Commissioner of Police, Trivandrum, sent a telegram to Gandhiji agreeing to withdrawal of prohibitory order from April 7.

Gandhiji conveyed to the Police Commissioner his acceptance of the latter's proposals. Released the correspondence to the Press.

At Madras, the Triplicane Urban Co-operative Society, the Madras Ayurvedic Pharmacy and the Hindi Prachar Samiti presented welcome addresses.

Gandhiji spoke to temperance workers at Gokhale Hall and addressed students of the Women's Christian College.

Several public bodies presented addresses at a public meeting at Tilak Ghat. Yakub Hasan presided.

**March 26.** Reached Bombay.

Explained the success of his Vykam mission in an interview to *The Bombay Chronicle*.

Addressed a women's meeting; received an address presented by the depressed classes.

Witnessed a spinning competition organized by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.

Opened the Congress House at Girgaum.

Left for Ahmedabad.

*Young India* published the findings of Gandhiji and Shaukat Ali on Kohat riots.

**March 29.** In *Navajivan* article, Gandhiji appealed to people to fast, spin and propagate *khadi* during the National Week.

**April 9.** In *Young India*, Gandhiji answered a revolutionary's arguments in favour of violence.

**April 11.** Gandhiji reached Bombay after Kathiawar tour. Interview to *The Bombay Chronicle* on dissensions in the Congress.

**April 13.** Spoke at a public meeting organized by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to observe the Jallianwala Bagh Day.

**April 16.** Visited the Gurukul at Supa and addressed the *brahmacharis*. Reached Navsari. Spoke at a meeting of Parsis.

In *Young India* article, said he would follow the wishes of the majority in the Congress.

**April 28.** At Madhav Bagh spoke at the All-India Cow-Protection Conference where the constitution of the All-India Cow-Protection Association was adopted.

**April 29.** Gave interview to the special correspondent of *New India* on the Commonwealth of India Bill.

Left Bombay.

**May 1.** Arrived in Calcutta.

Gave interview to Associated Press of India.

Spoke at public meeting in Mirzapur Park.

**May 2.** Inaugurated Industrial Exhibition at Faridpur. Addressed All-India Hindu Sammelan.

Spoke at Bengal Provincial Young Men's Conference.

**May 3.** Addressed conference of Muslims.

- Received addresses from students and Faridpur Municipal Corporation.  
Spoke at Bengal Provincial Conference, presided over by C. R. Das.
- May 4.** Attended Provincial Conference at Faridpur.
- May 5.** Visited Prabartak Ashram, Chandernagore.
- May 6.** Called on Sir Surendranath Banerjea.  
Laid foundation-stone of Ashtanga Ayurveda Vidyalaya Hospital building.
- May 7.** Greeted Tagore on his birthday eve.  
Presided over Buddha Jayanti function at Buddh Vihara, Calcutta.  
Started tour of East Bengal.
- May 8.** Spoke at Lohagunj (Dacca) and received purse of Rs. 5,000.  
Addressed public meeting at Malikanda.
- Before May 12.** In interview with Hardayal Nag, denied differences on basic issues with Swarajists.
- May 13.** Addressed students' and traders' meetings.
- May 14.** At Naokhali, addressed public and women's meetings.  
Gave interview to deputation of teachers.
- May 15.** At Comilla, received addresses at public meetings; addressed students.  
Visited Abhoy Ashram, Comilla.  
Spoke to workers of Vikrampur; declared himself against formation of organization separate from Congress.
- May 17.** At public meeting, Dacca, urged people to conduct their business in mother tongue or Hindi.  
Laid foundation-stone of National College Hospital at Shyampur.
- May 25.** In message to *Forward*, emphasized need to advance the spinning wheel programme.
- May 28.** Back in Calcutta, exhorted youth to visit villages and work with masses.
- May 30.** Met Tagore; explained *charkha* and *khaddar* programme.
- May 31.** Spoke to students of Santiniketan.  
Discussed Anglo-Indian question with Dr. Moreno.
- June 3.** Arrived in Darjeeling; stayed with C.R. Das.
- June 10.** At Jalpaiguri, exhorted merchants and businessmen to utilize their wealth and talent for country's welfare.
- June 14.** At Barisal, addressed public meeting.  
Visited Oxford Mission weaving shed; said the only supplementary occupation could be spinning, not weaving.
- June 16.** C.R. Das died at Darjeeling.
- June 17.** Gandhiji at Khulna received news of C.R. Das's death; paid tribute at public meeting.
- May 18.** Attended C.R. Das's funeral in Calcutta.
- June 22.** Issued appeal for Deshbandhu Memorial Fund.
- June 23.** Attended meeting at Municipal Market, Calcutta. Gave interviews to *The Statesman* and *The Searchlight*.
- June 24.** In interview to the *The Englishman*, denied rift in Swaraj Party.  
Declared intention to stay in Calcutta a month longer.
- June 28.** Appealed through *Navajivan* for meetings throughout country on July 1, the C.R. Das day, and for taking the spinning pledge.
- July 1.** Gandhiji attended *shraddha* rites of C.R. Das.  
Spoke at public meeting; at women's meeting received gold bangles and cash for Deshbandhu Memorial Fund.



- July 2.** *Bakr Id* day riots broke out in Kidderpore, Calcutta. Gandhiji, with Abul Klam Azad, visited trouble spots, pacified both communities. In interview to Associated Press of India, put blame on Hindus.
- July 5.** Resumed publishing his *History of Satyagraha in South Africa in Navajivan*, interrupted because of fast and other reasons.
- July 9.** At Swarajist Councillors' meeting, urged J.M. Sen Gupta's election as Mayor.
- July 16.** Spoke at Swaraj Party General Council meeting attended by Motilal Nehru and others.
- July 17.** At Swaraj Party General Council meeting said if Swarajists insisted on abolition of spinning franchise he would accede to the demand but would resign from Congress Presidentship.
- July 24.** Spoke at the University Institute meeting on Krishtodas Pal's death anniversary.  
Addressed European Association meeting at Grand Hotel, Calcutta.
- July 27.** In message to *Foreward* commended spinning and *khaddar* to honour the memory of Lokamanya Tilak.
- July 28.** Addressed Christian missionaries at Y.M.C.A., Calcutta.
- Before August 1.** In Calcutta, gave interview to *The Englishman*.
- August 1.** On death anniversary of Tilak, in a speech exhorted people to work for *swaraj* through *khaddar* and spinning.
- August 6.** Visited Krishnath College, Behrampur, where he was given an address and purse for Deshbandhu Memorial Fund.
- August 7:** Surendranath Banerjea died at Barrackpore. Gandhiji paid a condolence visit to Surendranath's home.
- August 8.** Addressed gathering of Indians and Europeans at Tata Steel Works, Jamshedpur.
- August 9.** Addressed officers of Tata Steel Works.  
At a mass meeting of labourers, exhorted them to shun evil of drinking.
- August 12.** In Calcutta, visited offices of *Basumati*.  
At Chowringhee Branch of Y.M.C.A., spoke on "The Duty of Indian Christian Young men."
- August 15.** Moving condolence resolution at meeting in Calcutta, paid homage to Surrendranath Banerjea and laid emphasis on need for social reforms.
- August 21.** Giving interview to *The Englishman*, in Calcutta, explained his stand on Suhrawady's resignation from Swaraj Party.
- August 24.** Discussed riots at Titagarh with leaders of both communities.
- August 26.** In interview with members of Psycho-analytical Society, discussed factors responsible for Hindu-Muslim problem.
- August 27.** Issued statement to Press regarding forthcoming A.I.C.C. meeting at Patna where changes in Congress constitution were to be discussed.
- September 1.** Left Calcutta, reaching Bombay on September 3.
- September 3.** In interview to *The Bombay Chronicle*, gave his impressions of Bengal tour.
- September 4.** Gave interview to *Forward*.  
Presided over public meeting held to celebrate centenary of Dadabhai Naoroji.
- September 6.** At Ahmedabad, addressing Labour Union members, asked them to be courteous, truthful and honest in their work.
- September 12.** Reached Purulia.



Received addresses at public meeting. Unveiled portrait of C. R. Das.  
 Attended 16th Bihar Provincial Political Conference.

**September 21.** Spoke at meeting in Patna.

**September 22.** Presided over All-India Congress Committee meeting.  
 Resolution to establish All-India Spinners' Association was passed.

At District Khilafat Conference, Patna, Gandhiji spoke on Hindu-Muslim unity, and appealed to people to take to spinning and *khaddar*.

**September 24.** Constitution of All-India Spinners' Association finalised.  
 At public meeting, laid emphasis on need of spinning and weaving of *khaddar*.

Laid foundation-stone of National School at Khagaul.

Spoke at women's meetings.

**September 25.** At Bikram, addressed a public meeting.

**October 1.** At Bhagalpur, spoke at Provincial Marwari Conference.

Speaking at public meeting, invited members of all communities to join All-India Spinners' Association.

**October 16.** Addressing Ballia District Conference, said that *charkha* was the only remedy for India's poverty.

**October 17.** At students' meeting in Kashi Vidyapith, Benaras, advised them to spin regularly.

In Lucknow, addressed two meetings.

Replied to address presented by municipality at Sitapur. At another meeting, told Hindus not to bear ill-will against Muslims.

**October 18.** Attending U.P. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, declared that Hindi should be national language.

At U.P. Political Conference spoke on *charkha* and evil of untouchability. Addressed Anti-untouchability Conference.

**October 22.** At Dwarka, received address from people's deputation on board steamer.

Speaking at meeting in Bhuj, said if untouchability among Hindus was not removed, Hinduism would be destroyed.

**Before November 6.** In interview to Press, declared his intention to assist Swarajists in accordance with his promise.

**November 13.** In letter, informed Romain Rolland of the arrival of Madeleine Slade (Mirabehn) whom he would help "to become a little bridge between West and East".

**November 22.** Opening "Youth Week" organised by students of Ahmedabad, urged them to be optimistic and imbibe spirit of sacrifice and self-control.

In *Navajivan*, the last instalment of Gandhiji's book, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, was published.

**November 24.** At morning prayer announced fast for seven days due to moral lapses in the Ashram.

**December 1.** Spoke to students before breaking fast.

Issued statement to the Press after breaking fast.

**December 5.** Spoke at convocation of Gujarat Vidyapith.

**December 7.** Left Dholka for Ahmedabad and Ahmedabad for Bombay.

**December 8.** Spoke at Gujarati National School, Bombay.

**December 10.** Arrived at Wardha and stayed for 11 days.

**December 22.** Left Wardha for Congress session at Kanpur.

**December 24.** Spoke at opening of Swadeshi Exhibition at Kanpur Congress.  
 Spoke on franchise resolution at Subjects Committee meeting.



## 1926

- December 26.** Spoke on resolution on South Africa at open session of the Congress.
- December 29.** Interview to Associated Press of India.
- January 3.** In *Navajivan*, announced decision voluntarily to retire for one year from public work to stay at and attend to the Ashram and to have rest.
- January 7.** In *Young India*, commended Andrews' activities and Bishop Fisher's pamphlet in the cause of South African Indians.
- January 9.** In message to the *Bombay Chronicle* and in a letter, welcomed Horniman on arrival in India.
- January 14.** In *Young India* wrote on "Vykom Satyagraha", its ultimate objective—temple-entry.
- January 21.** Issued statement on Gandhi-Smuts Agreement of 1914 to Associated Press of India.  
Issued appeal to Travancore Government regarding temple-entry.
- January 28.** In *Young India* wrote on the South African question.  
Signed Satyagraha Ashram Trust-deed.
- February 10.** Turned down request by North American Newspaper Alliance to write memories.
- February 11.** In *Young India* article, Gandhiji explained the significance of his programme of non-violent non-co-operation and the movement for abolition of untouchability.
- February 14.** In interview with South African Deputation in Ahmedabad, assured them of his readiness to go to South Africa, if necessary.
- February 25.** In *Young India*, criticized Viceroy's acceptance of Dr. Malan's proposal that the Government of India place evidence before the Select Committee only through the Paddison Deputation.
- February 27.** Motilal Nehru came to Ahmedabad for discussions with Gandhiji.
- March 11.** Sent message to Swami Shradhanandji's weekly, *The Liberator*.  
In letter to Shri Chunilal, sent message to convention on cow-protection.
- March 12.** Sent message on the spinning-wheel to *Hindustani*, Lahore.
- March 15.** In letter to A.A. Paul, explained his attitude regarding invitation to visit China.
- March 17.** In interview to Katherine Mayo, expressed his views on exploitation by the West, the economics of the spinning-wheel, the blot of untouchability, the injustice of British rule in India, etc.
- March 18.** In *Young India* article, described the racial and colour problem in South Africa as "a tremendous world problem".
- March 20.** In letter to Lala Lajpat Rai, explained his attitude to invitations to visit America and Finland.
- March 21.** Spoke at annual function of National Music Association, Ahmedabad.
- March 26.** In letter to Katherine Mayo, analysing the causes of Indian poverty, underlined the importance of hand-spinning as the remedy therefor.
- March 27.** In letter to R.D. Tata, wrote of the latter's promised donation of one lakh spindles and *taklis* during Gandhiji's visit to Jamshedpur.
- March 28.** In *Navajivan* article, answered "Some Questions on Religious Issues".
- April 1.** In *Young India* article, "My Political Programme", emphasized, in



reply to American friends, the spinning-wheel as his programme, besides unity and abolition of untouchability, etc. Sent message on abolition of untouchability to a meeting at Trivandrum.

**April 8.** Sent a message to Mysore Lawyers' Conference at Tumkur.

Wrote a foreward to Hemendra Babu's life of Deshbandhu. In *Young India* article, "Obejctions Considered", Explained the case for the spinning-wheel in reply to Babu Bhagwandas.

**April 11.** Wrote a message on Jallianwala Bagh Day in response to request from Sarojini Naidu.

In letter to G.D. Birla, wrote on the communal riots in Calcutta.

**April 13.** In letter to K.T. Paul on the subject of his visit to Y.M.C.A. World Convention in Finland, explained his position in the matter of his dress and diet, his preference for "heart to heart conversations" over "speech-making", etc.

**April 15.** In *Young India* article, "Pandit Nehru and Khaddar", replied to *The Times of India* which had used "not only insulting" but also "highly misleading" language.

In *Young India* wrote a long review of the book, *The Takli Teacher*.

**April 21.** Was present at discussions among Motilalji, Jayakar, Kelkar, Aney, Moonje, Lala Lajpat Rai, Sarojini Naidu and others at the conference convened by Pandit Motilal Nehru for framing agreed conditions for responsive co-operation with Government.

**April 22.** In *Young India* article, advocated total prohibition in India.

In interview, clarified his attitude to Royal Commission on Agriculture, as a confirmed non-co-operator, while accepting Governor's invitation to discuss problems on agriculture at Mahabaleshwar.

**April 23.** Wrote to Romain Rolland, introducing Jawaharlal and his wife.

**April 24.** In letter to S.C. Sen, discussed the process of "the growing revelation of truth."

In letter to P.M. Seth, expressed his views on widow-remarriage.

In letter to Amritlal, expressed his views on life insurance as betraying "a measure of lack of faith in God".

In letter to Thakkar Bapa, commended exclusive devotion to "the service of *Antyajās* and *Bhils*". In letter to Ramu Thakkar, reiterated his faith in *Ramanama* and *charkha*.

**April 25.** In *Navajivan* article, in reply to a correspondent, expressed his views in support of marriage against advocates of free love.

**April 27.** In letter to S. Srinivasa Iyengar, expressed confidentially his strong views against Council programme.

**April 29.** In *Young India* article, congratulated the Government of India on the diplomatic victory gained in South Africa in the cause of the Indian claim, the Areas Reservation Bill being postponed and a conference agreed upon.

In *Young India* paid a glowing tribute to Andrews for his work in South Africa. Drew attention to the plight of the untouchables in Cochin State.

**May 2.** In letter to Romain Rolland, explained views on propaganda abroad for the Indian case.

**May 4.** Attended A.I.C.C. meeting at Gujarat Vidyapith.

**May 8.** In letter to Abul Kalam Azad, described the pathetic condition of disunity within the Congress.



- May 14.** Reached Bombay and visited Devadas.
- May 16.** Reached Mahabaleshwar and stayed with Sir Chunilal Mehta.
- May 18.** Met the acting Governor, Sir Henry Lawrence, and discussed agriculture, *charkha* and the cattle problem.
- May 20.** Reached Poona, visited Sinhgarh (to meet Kaka Kalelkar) and left for Bombay.  
In *Young India*, wrote on racial discrimination against Indians in Australia.
- May 30.** In letter to A.A. Paul, in response to an invitation to visit China, agreed to do so.  
In letter to A.I. Kaje, General Secretary, South African Indian Congress, Durban, gave advice on resolutions for the Annual Conference at Johannesburg on resistance to Colour Bar Bill.  
In *Navajivan*, advised East African Indians to unite and "cultivate strength for *satyagraha*" to be able to live with self-respect.
- June 3.** In *Young India* article "The Bar Sinister", examined and criticized the Colour Bar Bill and the Class Areas Reservation Bill.
- June 6.** In letter to K.T. Paul, cancelled his trip to Finland.
- June 8.** In interview to Press, condemned Colour Bar Bill as "insulting".  
In letter to Janakdhari Prasad, commented on the tragic drift away from non-co-operation, reiterated his firm faith in it as the way to freedom.
- July 1.** Published in *Young India* first article in the series entitled "Towards Moral Bankruptcy".
- July 26.** Gandhiji sent message to Maharashtra, on the eve of Lokamanya Tilak's death anniversary that *khadi* and *charkha* were the means of winning *swaraj*.
- September 18.** Left Ahmedabad for Bombay to receive South African Delegation.
- September 19.** In Bombay, gave interview to *The Natal Advertiser*.  
Attended Garden Party given in honour of South African Delegation.  
Left for Ahmedabad in night.
- September 26.** Discussed Indian question in South Africa with representatives from South Africa.
- October 10.** Executed his will, declaring that he owned no property and bequeathing what might be found to be his to the Satyagraha Ashram.  
First of a series of eight articles entitled "Is this Humanity?" appeared in *Navajivan*.
- October 17.** Gandhiji gave interview to Associated Press of India on personnel of Indian Delegation to Round Table Conference.
- October 24.** Addressed annual meeting of the Labour Union, Ahmedabad, held at Ashram.
- November 21.** V.S. Srinivasa Shastri met Gandhiji in the afternoon at Sabarmati.
- November 22.** Gandhiji spoke at the convocation of Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad.
- December 20.** Addressed a public meeting at Wardha.
- December 21.** Left Wardha for Gauhati.  
Stayed for a few hours at Gondia, Amraoti and Nagpur.  
Addressed public meetings at Amraoti and Nagpur.
- December 23.** Reached Calcutta.  
Swami Shraddhanand assassinated.
- December 24.** Spoke at the A.I.C.C. meeting at Gauhati.
- December 25.** Spoke at the opening ceremony of Swadeshi Exhibition, Gauhati.

**December 26.** Spoke at the flag hoisting ceremony at the Congress pandal at Gauhati.

Proposed resolutions and spoke on the death of Swami Shradhanand and on the status of Indians in South Africa.

**December 27.** Spoke in the Subjects Committee on the desirability of stiffening franchise so that no one who does not wear *khaddar* should be entitled to vote.

**December 31.** Spoke at a public meeting held at Maheswari Bhavan, Barra-bazar, Calcutta.

### 1927

**January 2.** Spoke at gathering of students of 16 depressed class schools of Calcutta and Howrah.

Spoke at Chittaranjan Seva Sadan, Calcutta.

Laid the foundation for a memorial to Aswini Kumar Dutt.

Spoke at opening ceremony of the Kalashala of Khadi Pratishthan at Sodepur.

**January 4.** Left for Comilla.

**January 6.** At Comilla, gave interview to the Free Press of India on *khadi* resolution.

Spoke at a women's meeting, Comilla.

**January 9.** In Benaras, gave interview to Dr. Bhagwandas on the question of *swaraj*.

Delivered speeches at Banaras Hindu University, women's meeting, public meeting, Shradhanand's Memorial meeting and at a meeting of untouchables.

**January 10.** Left Benaras for Allahabad.

**January 13.** Addressed meetings at Dhanbad, Katras, Jharia.

**January 16.** Spoke at public meetings in Chappra and Sewan.

**January 20.** Addressed meetings at Madhubani and Samastipur.

**January 22.** Spoke at Motihari, recalling memories of Champaran struggle.

**January 23.** In letter to Vallabbhai Patel, asked him to accept presidency of Kathiawar Political Conference.

At Bettiah, spoke on inclusion of spinning in educational curriculum, on cow-protection and removing untouchability.

**January 25.** At Muzaffarpur, visited provincial *khaddar* depot, Municipal Ayurvedic Dispensary, Ramakrishna Mission and school for untouchables.

In interview to Free Press of India explained non-acceptance of invitations to visit America.

Addressed public meeting and students' meeting.

**January 30.** In Patna delivered convocation address at Bihar Vidyapith.

**February 2.** Began tour of Central Provinces and Berar. Spoke at Tumsar.

**February 3.** At Nagpur appealed for Deshbandhu Memorial Fund.

**February 5.** At Yeotmal gave an interview to Shapurji Saklatvala.

**February 10.** At Jalgaon attended spinning demonstration by students; addressed women's meeting, visited *pinjrapole* and met members of Chaitanya Mandal.

Addressed public meeting and meeting of untouchables.

**February 19.** At Sholapur spoke in reply to municipal address.

Visited the tribal settlement.

Visited the Spinning and Weaving Mills.

**March 4.** In Poona spoke at Reay Market.



Addressed students.

**March 8-14.** At Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad.

**March 17.** In *Young India* article "No and Yes" replied to Saklatvala's open letter.

**March 19.** In Hardwar delivered convocation address at Gurukul Kangri.

**March 21.** Left Hardwar for Bombay.

**March 24.** At Ghatkopar addressed gathering at Sarvajanic Jivodaya Khata.

**March 25.** At Kolhapur addressed seven meetings.

Motored to Nipani.

Restless at night.

**March 28.** Doctors unanimously decided that the whole hot weather programme must be cancelled.

**April 3.** Was examined by Dr. Jivaraj Mehta who advised him to go to hill station.

**April 7.** In *Young India* article "What Shall I do ?" declared: "The foundation of *satyagraha* as of nation-building is undoubtedly self-purification, self-dedication, selflessness."

**April 19.** Reached Nandi Hills.

**April 21.** In *Young India* article "Truth is one" said: "Independence of each country is a truth in the same sense and to the same extent that independence of each man is."

**April 26.** In letter to R.B. Gregg said that living on sun-dried fruits and nuts without using fire would bring animal passions under conscious control.

**May 10.** In letter to Saklatvala said that labour in India was "still unorganised."

**May 19.** In *Young India* article "Nagpur Satyagraha" denied that he ever gave consent for civil disobedience in Nagpur and warned everyone "not to use his name in connection with any movement without getting his permission in writing".

**May 28.** In letter to G. L. Nanda, described *Bhagavad Gita* as his "only dictionary of reference".

**June 5.** Came down from Nandi Hills. Spoke at Chikaballapur. Reached Bangalore.

**June 16.** Gandhiji's stay in Bangalore continued till August 31.

**June 25.** In letter to Sarojini Naidu emphasized that there was "no other man than Dr. Ansari who could be the Congress President in 1927 to pilot a Hindu-Muslim pact through the Congress".

**July 3.** In Bangalore, spoke after opening the Khadi Exhibition.

**July 10.** In Bangalore, spoke at All-Karnataka Hindi Conference.

**July 12.** Spoke at Indian Institute of Science.

**July 29.** Had a discussion with Christian missionaries.

**August 4.** In Bangalore issued an appeal for funds for Gujarat flood relief.

**August 13.** Arrived at Shimoga, addressed a meeting of women; spoke at temple, Harihar.

**August 20.** Reached Belur, addressed a public meeting in front of the Belur Temple.

**August 24.** Commenced the first stage of Tamil Nadu tour. Visited Hosur. In Krishnagiri, spoke at a meeting.

**September 3.** Arrived in Madras; spoke at the Provincial Boy Scouts' Association; laid the foundation-stone for the new premises of the

Madras and Southern Maharatta Railway Employee's Union.

In Madras spoke to students.

**September 9.** Spoke at a meeting of women; delivered address on C.R. Das; spoke at St. Thomas Mount; interview to *The Hindu*.

**September 15.** At Valangiman, addressed a meeting.

Reached Mannargudi; spoke at National High School, at Findlay College and, at a public meeting.

In *Young India* article, "A Drain Inspector's Report", commented on Catherine Mayo's *Mother India*.

**September 16.** Gandhiji continued his *khadi* tour in South India; spoke at Tanjore on Brahmin and Non-Brahmin question.

**September 17 to 20.** Addressed meetings at and near Trichinopoly.

**September 28.** Arrived in Madura; received address from Municipal Council and thereafter spoke at public meeting.

**September 29.** In Madura spoke at a meeting of Saurashtra community.

**September 30.** Addressed public meeting at Tirumangalam; conference with Justice Party leaders.

**October 2.** At Virudhunagar; gave interviews to Rev. J. Himmerstrand and Non-Brahmin Youth League; spoke at public meeting.

**October 4.** At Rajapalayam; spoke at women's meeting and public meeting; opened a *khadi vastralaya*.

**October 9 and 10.** At Trivandrum; met the Maharaja and Maharani of Travancore and discussed the question of the entry of untouchables to the Tiruvarappu temple roads.

**October 13.** At Ernakulam and Cochin; announced prize of Rs. 1,000 for the best essay on cow-protection.

**October 15.** At Palghat; had conversation with Shankaracharya of Kama-koti Peetam; spoke at public meeting.

**October 17.** At Coimbatore; exchanged telegrams with V.J. Patel on proposed meeting with the Viceroy.

**October 22 to 24.** At Tirupur; spoke at public meeting; accepted Viceroy's invitation to see him on November 2.

**October 27.** Left Mangalore by sea for Bombay on way to Delhi to see the Viceroy.

**October 29.** Arrived in Bombay; gave interview to the Press on the appointment of assessors on the Royal Commission, and on Hindu-Muslim unity.

**November 1.** In Delhi; attended meeting of Khadi Pracharak Mandal.

**November 2.** In Delhi met the Viceroy, Lord Irwin; visited Jamia Millia Islamia and spoke to students.

**November 3.** Reached Ahmedabad at night.

**November 7.** Left for Ceylon on board S. S. "*Colaba*".

**November 12.** Arrived in Colombo at night.

**November 13.** In Colombo, spoke at meetings of Chettiar community and Society; gave interview to the Press.

**November 14.** In Colombo; silence day.

**November 15.** In Colombo; received address from municipality; addressed meetings of students, Buddhists and Christians.

**November 16.** In Colombo; spoke to Christian missionaries and labourers.



- November 17.** Left Colombo and visited Paliyagoda, Negombo, Madampe, Chilaw, Kurunegala and Katugastota.
- November 18.** Spoke at public meetings at Matale and Kandy; visited the Dalada Maligawa and saw the Tooth Relic.
- November 22.** Returned to Colombo and spoke at meetings of the Parsis, the Ceylon National Congress and others.
- November 25.** Returned to Colombo and spoke at farewell meetings.
- November 30.** Left Ceylon and arrived in Ramnad; addressed public meeting.
- December 1.** Arrived in Madras; gave interview to Associated Press on the Statutory Commission; left for Orissa tour.
- December 6.** Addressed public meeting at Berhampur. Also visited Aska, Gohra, Russelkonda.
- December 14.** Reached Balasore; addressed meetings.
- December 18.** Arrived in Cuttack; cancelled all programmes and took rest on account of high blood pressure.
- December 21.** Left Cuttack to attend the annual session of Indian National Congress at Madras.
- December 23.** Spoke at Hindi and Khadi Exhibition, Madras.
- December 27.** Gandhiji's draft resolution on Indians in South Africa was adopted unanimously by the Indian National Congress.
- December 29.** Death of Hakim Ajmal Khan.
- December 30.** Arrived in Bombay; gave interview to Press on Hindu-Muslim unity and Independence Resolution.
- December 31.** Arrived at Sabarmati.

## 1928

- January 15.** Spoke at the convocation of the Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad.
- January 22.** Spoke at Fourth Kathiawar Political Conference at Porbunder.
- January 24.** Laid the foundation stone of a temple for untouchables at Vartej; spoke also at Morvi.
- January 30.** Wished success to *hartal* against the Simon Commission.
- January 31.** Went to stay among the students of the Mahavidyalaya.
- February 3.** Statutory Commission under Sir John Simon landed in Bombay. Protest demonstrations and meetings held. Gandhiji sent messages to Ahmedabad and Bombay for success of boycott.
- February 5.** Fainted while spinning; doctors advised complete rest.
- Before February 12.** Talked to representatives of Bardoli Taluka and Vallabhbhai Patel regarding Bardoli Satyagraha.
- March 20.** Spoke at sweepers' meeting at Ahmedabad.  
In interview to Associated Press said his visit to Europe was not certain.
- April 18.** Sent message to Students' Conference, Ceylon.
- April 23.** Maganlal Gandhi died at Patna.
- May 7.** Conferred with Subhas Chandra Bose at Sabarmati Ashram.
- July 6.** Sent message to *The Hindu* on its golden jubilee.
- July 13.** In letter to Barbara Bauer, who had requested him to resurrect her deceased mother, wrote: "I am but an ordinary mortal..... as every other human being.....I possess no extraordinary powers."
- July 20.** Interview to Press representative on Bardoli question.
- July 22.** In *Navajivan* article, discussed minimum terms of Bardoli settlement.



- July 26.** Statement on Bardoli question in reply to Governor's speech was published in *Young India*.
- August 2.** Reached Bardoli.
- August 4.** At Sarbhon, addressed both the *Talatis* and representatives of 25 villages of Sarbhon division.
- August 5.** At Rayam, spoke on discipline.
- August 6.** Settlement reached on Bardoli *satyagraha* at Poona.  
Gandhiji congratulated both the Government of Bombay and people of Bardoli.
- August 11.** At Valod, spoke on the science of *satyagraha*.
- August 12.** At Bardoli, spoke to volunteers.  
At Surat, spoke on the occasion of the Bardoli victory celebrations.
- August 16.** Welcomed the Nehru Report with its unanimous recommendations in favour of Dominion Self-Government for India.  
Spoke at Ahmedabad on truth and non-violence.
- August 20.** Spoke at Brahmo Samaj centenary celebrations.
- September 7.** In Ahmedabad, spoke at school for deaf and dumb.
- September 10.** At Ahmedabad, delivered speech on birth centenary of Tolstoy.
- October 1.** At Ahmedabad, spoke on Annie Besant's birthday.
- October 5.** Sent a message to Lahore Students' Conference.
- October 28.** In Ahmedabad, Gandhiji spoke at New Gujarati school.
- October 31.** Lajpat Rai received injury in a *fracas* between police and nationalists in Lahore.
- November 1.** Interview to special correspondent of *The Civil and Military Gazette*.
- November 3.** In *Navajivan* article, discussed changes made after renaming the Satyagraha Ashram as Udyog Mandir.
- November 17.** Lajpat Rai died; Gandhiji gave interview to Associated Press of India on his death.
- November 18.** In Ahmedabad, spoke at Lajpat Rai condolence meeting.
- November 26.** Issued and endorsed appeal for Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund.
- November 29.** On national mourning day for Lajpat Rai addressed Ashram inmates at Wardha.
- December 21.** Gandhiji arrived at Sambalpur *en route* to Calcutta.
- December 22.** At Sambalpur; spoke at public meeting in the morning; addressed women's meeting in the evening; and left for Calcutta.
- December 23.** Arrived in Calcutta in the morning.  
Met a deputation from the Punjab.
- December 26.** Moved resolution on Nehru Report at the Congress Subjects Committee meeting.
- December 27.** In *Young India* wrote an article on Saunders' assassination.
- December 28.** Moved compromise resolution on Nehru Report in the Subjects Committee meeting.
- December 29.** Annual session of Indian National Congress began in Calcutta.  
Gandhiji moved resolution on constructive programme at the Subjects Committee meeting.  
Presided at the Rashtra Bhasha Sammelan in the evening. Wrote for *Young India* an article, "What Is In A Name," discussing Dominion Status vs. Independence.



**December 31.** Moved resolution on Nehru Report in open session of Congress.

## 1929

**January 1.** Opened a Khadi Bhandar in Calcutta.

Moved resolution on constructive programme in open session of Congress.

Annual session of Congress concluded.

In the All-Parties Convention Gandhiji moved a resolution containing general agreement on communal problems.

**January 2.** Gave interview to *The Englishman* and *Daily Telegraph* clarifying his standpoint regarding Congress Resolution on Nehru Report.

Inaugurated the new block of Chitta Ranjan Seva Sadan.

Visited Khadi Pratishthan at Sodepur.

Visited the Vishwakosha Bhawan and met Nagendra Nath Basu.

**January 3.** Left Calcutta at night for Ahmedabad *via* Delhi.

**January 4.** Halted at Delhi; met Dr. Zakir Husain.

**January 5.** Reached Ahmedabad at night.

**January 9.** Attended the meeting of the Arbitration Board on the Gujarat Ginning Mill dispute.

**January 10.** Spoke at the Youth Week Celebration.

**January 11.** Presided over the seventh convocation of the Gujarat Vidya-pith; spoke at the presentation of *khadi*-purse to J. B. Kripalani.

**January 12.** Message to the Third Gathering of Graduates of the Vidya-pith.

**January 14.** Attended Arbitration Board's meeting.

**January 31.** In *Young India*, announced the cancellation of his European tour.

**February 1.** Wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru to reorganize the Congress for next year's non-violent non-co-operation campaign.

**February 2.** Left for Sind tour.

**February 3.** Arrived at Karachi in the afternoon; spoke in reply to the Municipal address at public meeting.

Last Chapter of *Autobiography* appeared in *Navajivan*.

**February 4.** Gandhiji addressed public meeting in Karachi.

**February 5.** Addressed meetings of untouchables, depressed classes and Sikhs.

**February 6.** Addressed meetings of Parsis, students and women.

**February 7.** Addressed Jacobabad public meeting where purses and addresses on behalf of several organisations were presented to him.

**February 8.** At Shikarpur, addressed students', women's and public meetings.

**February 9.** At Larkana.

**February 10.** Reached Sukhur.

Addressed students' municipal and women's meetings.

**February 11.** Addressed public meeting at Rohri.

**February 13.** At Paddan, spoke at women's meeting.

Reached Hyderabad in the evening.

Replied to address presented by Hyderabad Municipality.

**February 14.** In Hyderabad, addressed Congress, students' and sweepers' meetings.

- On or before February 15.** Issued statement on Sind Congress affairs.
- February 15.** Addressed public meeting at Mukhaspur.  
Sind tour concluded.
- February 17.** Arrived in Delhi.  
Attended meeting of Congress Working Committee.
- February 21.** Reached Sabarmati Ashram.
- February 28.** At Ahmedabad, spoke at unveiling of Tilak statue, Flag Hoisting ceremony and public meeting.
- March 3.** Arrived in Calcutta.
- March 4.** In a speech in Shraddhanand Park, Calcutta, advised the people to boycott foreign cloth. The speech was followed by bonfire of foreign cloth.  
Gandhiji was arrested and later released on personal cognizance.
- March 5.** Issued statement to Press on "Calcutta's bonfire incident".  
Left for Rangoon by *S. S. Aronda*.
- March 8.** Arrived in Rangoon. Addressed public meetings. Gave interview to Free Press of India.
- March 9.** Spoke at public meeting.
- March 10.** Addressed meetings of Gujaratis, Arya Samajists, students, etc.
- March 12.** At Moulmein. Replied to the Municipality's address and spoke at Gujarati meeting.
- March 13.** Spoke at public meeting, Moulmein.
- March 14.** In Rangoon, spoke at Ramakrishna Mission and women's meetings.
- March 15.** Delivered speeches at Paungde and Prome.
- March 18.** At Mandalay, spoke at public meeting.
- March 19.** At Toungoo, spoke at public meeting and farewell meeting.
- March 20.** Spoke at labourers' and students' meetings.
- Before March 21.** Gave interview to Dr. John Mott.
- March 21.** Replied to address of welcome by General Council of All Burmese Association.
- March 22.** Left Rangoon for Calcutta. Collected more than Rs. 1,50,000.
- March 24.** Arrived in Calcutta.
- March 26.** Gave statement in the course of his trial in the court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate.
- March 27.** Reached Delhi. Attended meeting of Congress Working Committee.  
Left for Ahmedabad.
- Before March 28.** Granted interview to foreign visitors.
- March 29.** In Ahmedabad, gave interview to the Associated Press.
- March 30.** At Morvi, addressed Fifth Kathiawar Political Conference held under the Presidentship of Vallabhbhai Patel.
- April 2.** In Ahmedabad.
- April 5.** Reached Bombay. Spoke at opening ceremony of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee's new office.  
Left Bombay for Andhra.
- April 6.** Replied to joint address presented by the people of Hyderabad (Deccan) and Secunderabad.
- April 7.** In Hyderabad visited some local schools.  
Left for Bezwada.
- April 8.** Spent night at Nandigama.



- April 9.** Spoke at Nandigama in the morning.  
Reached Bezwada.
- April 10.** Addressed public meeting at Bezwada.
- April 11.** Reached Wuyyur at 8 a.m.
- April 12.** Delivered a speech at Wuyyur.
- April 13.** Delivered speeches at Arundhati Ashram, Andhra Jatiya Kalasala and women's meeting, Masulipatam.
- April 17.** Left Masulipatam for Guntur.  
Addressed public meetings in Guntur, Kerinchedu and Pedanandipadu.
- April 24.** Laid foundation of Vivekananda Library, Potunooru. Reached Gundukolanu at 8.15 p.m. Stayed there for night.
- April 28.** Reached Vizagapatam at 3 p.m. Spoke at public meeting.
- April 30.** Spoke at public meeting at Vizagapatam.
- May 1.** Spoke at public meeting, Anakapalle.
- May 2.** Spoke at public meeting, Tuni.
- May 3.** Spoke at public meeting, Pithapuram.
- May 7.** Spoke at public meeting, Rajahmundry.
- May 8.** Spoke at public meeting, Sitanagaram.
- May 9.** Spoke at public meeting, Polavaram.
- May 10.** Spoke at Buchireddipalam and Kavali public meetings.
- May 21.** Spoke at farewell function, Adoni.  
Left for Bombay after visiting 319 villages in Andhra and collecting about Rs. 2,64,400.
- May 22.** Reached Bombay at night.
- May 24.** In Bombay, gave interview to the *Bombay Chronicle*.
- May 25.** Spoke at the A.I.C.C. meeting.
- May 28.** Reached Sabarmati Ashram.
- June 2.** In *Navajivan*, published constitution of Goseya Sangha and objects of the Committee for Removal of Untouchability appointed by Congress Working Committee.
- June 3.** In letter to G.D. Birla, wrote regarding his dietetic experiments.
- June 6.** In *Young India*, published consolidated statement of expenditure incurred during Andhra tour and stressed need "to use national funds as jealously and as economically as a careful householder".
- June 12.** Bhagat Singh and Bhatukeswar Dutt were sentenced to transportation for life for throwing on April 8 "two bombs in the Assembly".
- June 13.** In Bareilly, at workers' meetings, Gandhiji discussed question of Congress re-organisation in terms of A.I.C.C. Resolution.
- June 14.** At Nainital spoke on *khaddar*, communal unity, prohibition and the removal of untouchability.
- June 16.** In Tadikhat spoke at Prem Vidyalaya anniversary celebrations.
- June 18.** At Almora, addressed meeting of Christians. At Lakshmeshwar, in reply to Almora District Board's address, expressed grief over Padma Singh's injury in car accident.
- June 20.** At Almora, in his speech, made moving reference to Padma Singh's death.
- June 21.** Left Almora for Kausani.
- July 2.** Left Kausani.
- July 4.** Reached Kashipur in the morning and left for Delhi in the evening.
- July 5.** In Delhi.



**July 6.** Reached Sabarmati Ashram.

**July 18.** In *Young India* article, "An Andhra Hero", wrote: "Though I have no sympathy with and cannot admire armed rebellion, I cannot withhold my homage from a youth so brave, so sacrificing, so simple and so noble in character as young Shri Rama Raju".

**July 26.** Reached Allahabad, attended Congress Working Committee meeting in Mayo Hall.

**July 27.** In Allahabad, moved compromise resolution on non-violent non-co-operation which was eventually passed by an over-whelming majority of the A.I.C.C.

**July 28.** Message to Bombay Congress Muslim party meeting at Congress House.

**August 1.** At Sabarmati Ashram, spoke on death anniversary of Tilak.

**August 11.** Arrived in Bombay; attended a conference *in camera* at M.A. Jinnah's place; discussed "matters of common interest".

**August 12.** Returned to Ahmedabad.

Suffered from dysentery.

**August 15.** Referred to having given up experiment of uncooked food, and was undergoing medical treatment.

**August 20.** Declined Congress Presidentship and suggested instead Jawaharlal Nehru's name.

**September 7.** In Bombay, opened Crafts Block at National School, Vile Parle; laid foundation stone of an Ashram for women; presided over meeting at the Vanita Vishram for the blind; visited new building of A.I.S.A. Khadi Bhavan at Kalbadevi.

**September 10.** At Bhopal spoke at a public meeting.

**September 11.** Left Bhopal for Agra. Arrived at Agra, spoke at public meeting; addressed ladies' meeting.

**September 12.** In *Young India* article, explained why he declined the Congress Presidentship: "The President of the Congress must be a man, not one commanding respect from a safe distance, but one who represents in every fibre of his being the sum total of what the nation stands for. I dare not submit myself for that test."

**September 13.** Spoke to students at Agra College.

**September 22.** In Kanpur spoke in reply to address by District Board and Municipal addresses.

Spoke in reply to address by Piece-goods Merchants and Cloth Market Employees' Association.

**September 25.** In Kashi, spoke at untouchables' meeting.

Addressed students of Hindu University.

**September 29.** Interview to the Free Press of India.

**October 11.** Reached Hardoi; addressed political conference.

**October 13.** At Moradabad, performed the opening ceremony of the Brijratan Hindu Public Library.

Spoke at meeting.

**October 14.** Reached Hardwar.

**October 16.** Gandhiji continued his U.P. tour, collecting funds for Lala Lajpat Rai Memorial, U.P. National Service and *khadi*. At Dehra Dun, laid foundation stone of the Shraddhanand Abala Ashram; spoke at meetings of students, ladies, and untouchables.

**October 17.** On way to Mussoorie received address composed in Sanskrit by girls at Kanya Gurukul; took part in spinning competition.



along with Ba and Mirabehn; at Rajpur unveiled a portrait of Keshav Dev Shastri and planted a tree in his memory.

**October 18.** At Mussoorie. Addressed European Municipal councillors.

**October 24.** Spoke at public meeting; urged *Antyajas* "to bestir themselves and see to it" that Hindu temple at Mussoorie was made accessible to them.

**October 27.** At Meerut. Met "Meerut Conspiracy Case" prisoners. Spoke at public Meeting.

**October 28.** Visited Acharya Kripalani's ashram; spoke at Meerut College.

**October 31.** Viceroy announced Round Table Conference to be convened after Simon Commission submitted its report.

**November 1.** Gandhiji arrived in Delhi; leaders met at Vithalbhai Patel's house to prepare joint statement.

**November 2.** Conference of prominent leaders at Delhi unanimously issued statement in reply to Viceroy's offer of Round Table Conference. Gandhiji spoke at the Town Hall; received addresses by Congress Committee and the Mazdur Sabha, and a purse from citizens.

**November 4.** Arrived in Aligarh; at night addressed students of Aligarh University and spoke on Hindu-Muslim unity.

**November 5.** Spoke at women's meeting and public meeting.

**November 7.** At Brindaban.

**November 11.** In Shahjahanpur district; visited American Methodist Mission Girls' School for suppressed classes.

**November 14.** In Rae Bareilly district. Wrote to Fenner Brockway that some absolute guarantees from British Government were necessary.

**November 16.** At Allahabad; visited Dr. Higginbottom's experimental farm and agricultural institute, Mrs. Higginbottom's home for children of lepers, leper asylum conducted by them, Ewing College, Crosthwaite Girls' School, Kayasth Pathashala and villages around Allahabad.

**November 17.** First death anniversary of Lala Lajpat Rai. Gandhiji spoke at meeting of students and staff of Allahabad University, Municipal Committee meeting and women's meeting where Indira Nehru presented him cheque for over Rs. 8,000; also spoke at public meeting presided over by Motilal Nehru.

**November 26.** At Sabarmati, executed Navajivan Trust Deed.

**November 30** Had discussion with Jinnah and Vithalbhai Patel at Sabarmati.

**December 7.** Reached Wardha; appealed to Ahmedabad labourers to accept arbitrator's award though it had fallen short of their demands.

**December 20.** Viceroy telegraphed Gandhiji to meet him along with Motilal Nehru, T.B. Saprú, Vithalbhai Patel and Jinnah. Gandhiji accepted invitation.

**December 21.** Left for Delhi; in letter to Mathuradas Trikumji wrote: "I am not going there with any hopes."

**December 23.** Met Viceroy.

**December 24.** Reached Lahore; spoke at public meeting on first anniversary of Servants of People Society; opened Lajpat Rai Memorial Hall; presided over All-India Suppressed Classes Conference.

**December 25.** Laid foundation stone of Lala Lajpat Rai's statue in Golbag (Lahore).



**December 26.** Congress Working Committee circulated among members draft resolutions for Congress prepared by Gandhiji in consultation with Motilal Nehru and others.

**December 27.** A.I.C.C. meeting commenced at Lahore and continued for next three days. Gandhiji moved Independence Resolution at Subjects Committee Meeting.

**December 29.** Indian National Congress session. Jawaharlal Nehru, in his Presidential address, advocated Complete National Independence, immediate boycott of legislatures and organization of peaceful mass movement for no-tax campaign. Gandhiji replied to debate on Independence Resolution.

Gandhiji's resolutions on autonomy to committees for foreign cloth boycott, anti-untouchability, prohibition and reduction of number of delegates were lost at Subjects Committee meeting.

**December 31.** Gandhiji's resolution on Complete Independence was adopted at open session of Congress.

### 1930

**January 1.** At Subjects Committee meeting Gandhiji moved resolution on national debts which stated that financial burdens inherited by free India would be subject to investigation by independent tribunal. Gave special interview to foreign correspondents before leaving Lahore.

**January 2.** Gandhiji reached Delhi. New Working Committee fixed 26th January as Independence Day.

**January 4.** Earl Russell, Under Secretary of State for India in speech said that India's Dominion Status would not be like that of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Mazhar-ul-Haq died.

**January 11.** Gandhiji, in speech at Gujarat Vidyapith Convocation, said that Earl Russell's statement on India's Dominion Status meant change to gold chains from iron ones.

**January 18.** Rabindranath Tagore visited Sabarmati Ashram and had discussions with Gandhiji there.

**January 23.** Viceroy in statement in Legislative Assembly, said Round Table Conference would help prepare guidelines on which the Government could prepare draft proposals regarding Dominion Status for consideration of Parliament; Viceroy disapproved of the financial resolution of the Congress.

**January 26.** Pledge of Independence taken all over India.

**February 15.** Congress Working Committee meeting at Ahmedabad authorized Gandhiji and those who believed in non-violence as an article of faith to launch civil disobedience "as and when they desire and to the extent they decide".

Gandhiji spoke at prayer meeting, advising inmates of the Sabarmati Ashram to prepare themselves for the ensuing fight.

**February 19.** All-India Congress Committee adopted civil disobedience programme.

**February 27.** In article, "When I am Arrested", Gandhiji exhorted people "that not a single believer in non-violence as an article of faith for the purpose of achieving India's goal should find himself free or alive at the end of the effort to submit any longer to the existing slavery."



- February 28.** In letter to G.D. Birla, Gandhiji wrote: "I have little hope of remaining out of jail by the end of March."
- March 2.** Wrote to Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India, characterising British rules as a curse. The letter was delivered by a young English friend, Reginald Reynolds.
- March 6.** In an article, analysed penal sections of Salt Act. Told the inmates of Sabarmati Ashram at a congregational prayer, "We shall either attain liberty and return to the Ashram, and that will be our new birth, or we shall die".
- March 8.** At a meeting in Ahmedabad announced, "I want to deprive the Government of its illegitimate monopoly of salt. My aim is to get the Salt Tax abolished as the first step towards freedom."
- March 9.** At prayer meeting, declared the civil disobedience campaign would start on the morning of 12th March.  
In an article in *Navajivan* said the struggle was his ultimate test; if multitudes joined it and if peace was preserved, *swaraj* would come with a speed beyond anybody's imagination.
- March 10.** Apprehending his arrest, said in a letter to Satis Das Gupta, "I know my absence will bring a fresh leader to the forefront. Let everyone constitute himself into a leader and conduct the movement."  
In an article wrote, if 700,000 villages started violation of Salt Law, the Government would feel powerless to do anything.
- March 11.** On the eve of the Dandi March to break the Salt Law, announced, "Either we shall win the goal for which we are marching or die in the attempt to win it.... This will be the last fight."  
In a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru said even if he was arrested the column on march would proceed towards the objective.
- March 12.** At 6.30 in the morning, after a congregational prayer, led out a band of 78 Ashram people selected from different provinces. The route of the march was thronged by people stretching a mile from the Ashram.  
On reaching Aslali, the first halt, addressed villagers.  
Earlier, received reply from Viceroy's Private Secretary to his letter of 2nd March, expressing regret for Gandhiji's contemplated action.  
In an article in *Young India*, Gandhiji refuted Maulana Shaukat Ali's charge that the movement was not for *swaraj* but for Hindu Raj against the Muslims.
- March 13.** In a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru, expressed his inability to come to Ahmedabad to attend Congress Working Committee meeting. At Navagram, addressed a public meeting and gave an interview to the London *Daily Express* representative.
- March 15.** At Dabhan said it was a holy war and a non-violent fight. Reached Nadiad and addressed a huge mass of people. Urged all government servants to give up their jobs.
- March 16.** Addressed students at Anand and asked them to put aside their studies to offer individual and mass civil disobedience from Kanyakumari to Kashmir and from Karachi to Dibrugarh.
- March 18.** Reached Borsad; addressing a mass meeting said British rule had brought about moral, material, spiritual and cultural ruination of the country. He was out to destroy this system of government.



- March 23.** Reached Ras. Congratulated the Mukhis and Mamlatdars who had handed in their resignations.
- March 26.** Reached Broach *via* Jalalpur and Napa. Spoke on Hindu-Muslim Unity while unfolding his future plans.
- March 28.** Reached Umrachhi, the first village in Surat District. Asked the people to join struggle for violating the Salt tax.
- March 30.** In a speech at Sandhyer asked the people to regard the salt tax as abolished. The tax was unjust and evil and *Swaraj* would not be won as long as this tax remained.
- March 31.** Told Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, to take 6th April as the deadline for simultaneous beginning of the Civil Disobedience movement all over the country.
- April 1.** Reached Surat.
- April 3.** Issued instructions for starting Civil Disobedience on 6th April from Lalapur Camp. On arrival at Navsari, addressed the people.
- April 4.** Issued appeal to Parsis.
- April 5.** Reached Dandi on the sea shore after a march of 24 days covering a distance of 200 miles.
- April 6.** After a night of fasting and prayers, Gandhiji and his followers bathed in the sea at Dandi and then broke the salt law by collecting contraband salt. Also manufactured salt by boiling sea water. Returning to camp after breaking salt law, Gandhiji gave a message through the Press saying, "Now that technical or ceremonial breach of Salt law had been committed, it is open to any one who would take the risk of prosecution to manufacture salt."
- April 7.** In a message, congratulated Gujarat for its response to Civil Disobedience movement.
- April 9.** In a speech at Bhimrad said that young people from 16 years upwards should join the campaign.
- April 10.** Asked volunteers not to abuse public officials.
- April 13.** Addressed women's conference held at Dandi when resolution to take up Civil Disobedience movement was passed. Addressing the men he said he would not tolerate violence of any kind.
- April 15.** Outlined intensive programme against the Salt laws.
- April 16.** Urged Motilal Nehru in a telegram to assume Congress Presidentship.
- April 17.** Salt *satyagraha* took place in different provinces in India. Gandhiji issued a statement on Calcutta and Karachi riots from Navsari. At Vijalpur announced creation of a National Army.
- April 21.** Issued a statement on Chittagong Armoury Raid.
- April 24.** Issued from Dandi instructions on picketing.
- April 26.** At Bulsar decided to raid salt depots.
- April 27.** Met a deputation from Delhi and advised picketing by women only.
- April 29.** Congratulated V. J. Patel on his resignation from Central Assembly Presidentship. Criticised Press ordinance issued by Government. Commended Delhi newspapers' gesture to cease publication.
- April 30.** Directed Navajivan Press to allow itself to be forfeited rather than deposit security. Government took over the press.
- May 3.** Wrote second letter to Viceroy in which he announced his intention to raid two of the salt depots of Gujarat at Dharsana.



- May 4.** Defined limits of boycott of village officers. Arrested at 12-45 a.m. while at Karadi Camp.  
Taken to Yeravda Prison.  
Before arrest he had issued instructions through Acharya Kripalani, and enjoined discipline on the workers as follows :
1. Theirs not to make reply.
  2. Theirs not to reason why.
  3. Theirs but to do and die.
- May 10.** In a letter to Major Doyale, I. G. of Prisons, announced his decision to forego special privileges offered to him by the Government.
- May 18.** Wrote to Lord Irwin from Yeravda prison : "India must not live for England; she must live for herself, so as to enable her to make her contribution to the world's progress."
- May 20.** Gave an interview in prison to George Slocombe, special representative of the *Daily Herald*, London, in the course of which he reiterated his faith in Civil Disobedience but said he was not against negotiations for settlement. The terms of reference for R.T.C. should include, he opined, framing of constitution giving India the 'substance of independence', repeal of Salt tax, prohibition and ban on foreign cloth, amnesty to prisoners and also the remaining seven points in his previous letter to Viceroy.
- July 20.** Had an interview with Tej Bahadur Sapru, who had come with Viceroy's permission to have talks with Congress leaders for a settlement.
- July 21.** Interviewed M. R. Jayakar who had come with a letter from Motilal Nehru.
- August 1.** Had another interview with M. R. Jayakar.
- August 7.** Started discourses on *brahmacharya*.
- August 15.** Had discussions with Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru who had been brought to Yeravda prison along with other Congress leaders. For three days, Sapru and Jayakar were using their good offices for a compromise. Nothing came of it and the talks ended in failure. In a joint statement Gandhiji and other leaders said :  
"The time is not yet ripe for securing a settlement honourable for our country." The document precisely defined the demands of the Congress and stressed the right of India to secede from the Empire.
- November 12.** Started series of discourses in prison, on *Gita*. Round Table Conference met in London without Congress.
- December 2.** Gave up taking milk and curd in prison.
- December 6.** Sardar Patel, Acting Congress President arrested. Continued day to day discourses in prison.

## 1931

- January 26.** Released from Yeravda Prison unconditionally following an announcement of the same date by Lord Irwin, the Governor-General, saying among other things : "Our action has been taken in pursuance of a sincere desire to assist the creation of such peaceable conditions as would enable the Government to implement the undertaking given by the Prime Minister that if civil quiet were proclaimed and assured, the Government would not be backward in response."
- January 27.** Accorded a rousing reception on arrival in Bombay.



Later visited Congress Free Hospital before leaving for Allahabad the same night to attend the Congress Working Committee meeting and see Pandit Motilal Nehru who was seriously ill.

In an interview to the Press, he declared "I hanker for peace but peace with honour. In my opinion if the release of the leaders is to be effective the release of all the *satyagrahi* prisoners is a necessary condition and this release will be in its turn ineffective if repression is not stopped altogether."

**January 31.** Wrote a letter to the Viceroy.

**February 1.** In a special interview to Reuters refuted rumours of a "split" among members of the Working Committee and stressed that the proceedings were unanimous. He agreed with the views of the Working Committee that the movement could not be withdrawn or slackened unless a truce was declared.

**February 3.** Gave up his projected visit to Bombay in view of Pandit Motilal Nehru's serious illness.

**February 4.** Received reply to his letter from Viceroy's Private Secretary.

**February 5.** Accompanied Pandit Motilal Nehru, grievously ill, to Lucknow.

**February 6.** Pandit Motilal Nehru died at Lucknow. Gandhiji and other members of the party carrying the body of Pandit Motilal Nehru started for Allahabad at 11 a.m.

Attended Pandit Motilal's funeral at the Sangam.

**February 7.** Had talks with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who had just returned from London after attending Round Table Conference.

**February 9.** Sent his reply to the Viceroy. Had prolonged discussions with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru along with other Congress leaders.

**February 12.** Met students and Congress volunteers at Anand Bhawan and asked them to wear nothing but pure, handspun *khaddar*.

**February 14.** Authorised by Congress Working Committee informally to see Viceroy in Delhi.

Sent Rafi Ahmad Kidwai to Delhi with his letter to Lord Irwin.

**February 15.** Received Viceroy's reply agreeing to meet Gandhiji at his convenience. Gandhiji paid tributes to memory of Pandit Motilal at a public meeting at Allahabad.

**February 17.** Arrived in Delhi and stayed with Dr. Ansari.

Had a prolonged meeting with Lord Irwin.

**February 18.** Met the Viceroy again; declared afterwards that there would be a temporary break in the talks.

**February 20.** Addressed a huge meeting in Delhi and offered Id felicitations to Muslims.

**February 21.** In an interview with representative of the *News Chronicle*, London, described the prospects of a settlement negatively as less hopeful than before.

In the evening, addressing a meeting of the Muslim League Council, said, if there was a settlement between the Congress and the Government, Hindu-Muslim unity would be the first issue to be tackled.

**February 24.** Authorised by Congress Working Committee to come to a settlement with the Viceroy if possible.

**February 25.** Addressed a crowded gathering of the local students at the Hindu College Hall.



**February 26.** In response to a pressing invitation addressed a crowded gathering of the Sikhs of Delhi at Sisganj Gurdwara in the evening.

**February 27.** Resumed discussions with Lord Irwin.

**March 1.** Had talks with Lord Irwin from 2.30 p.m. to 6.30 p.m. Consulted Working Committee members in regard to negotiations. Had another meeting with Viceroy which lasted till after midnight. Returned to Dr. Ansari's house at 1 a.m. and immediately had discussions with members of the Working Committee again before he commenced his day of silence.

**March 2.** Silence day. Exchanged notes with Sir T.B. Sapru and Mr. M.R. Jayakar regarding negotiations.

The Working Committee approved in its meeting the main line of Gandhi-Irwin proposals.

**March 3.** Held discussions with Sir George Schuster for two hours from 11 in the morning. His talks with Viceroy were resumed at 2.30 in the afternoon and terminated at 6.40 p.m. Had discussions with members of the Congress Working Committee on the draft formula and left for Viceroy's House again at night.

**March 4.** Gandhi-Irwin Agreement reached. After returning from Viceroy's House, Gandhiji consulted Working Committee members who unanimously approved it. Gandhiji returned to Viceroy's House, where the agreement was confirmed by signing of the document by him and Lord Irwin.

**March 5.** The Gandhi-Irwin Agreement which consisted of twenty-one clauses was announced. The agreement envisaged Congress participation in the next session of the Round Table Conference for discussion of constitutional reforms. The settlement related to activities connected with the Civil Disobedience movement which would be discontinued and reciprocal action would be taken by the Government which included release of C.D. prisoners and withdrawal of ordinances and prohibitory orders, etc.

**March 7.** Addressed a meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in old Council Hall, Delhi.

Explained the terms of settlement to a huge meeting held at the Queen's Gardens.

Reiterating his faith in non-violence, told the revolutionaries that their method could not be justified. But every possible effort would be made to secure reprieve of death sentences on Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru.

Met Lord Irwin again in the Viceroy's House.

**March 9.** Arrived at Ahmedabad from Delhi.

**March 11.** Addressed a meeting of Congress volunteers and a labour rally at Ahmedabad.

**March 16.** Arrived in Bombay after a tour of Gujarat.

Sent a telegram to Private Secretary to Viceroy expressing inability to give names of Congress delegates to RTC before Working Committee meeting on 24th March. Also reminded Viceroy about Mr. Benn's statement on financial safeguards which might render it difficult for Congress to be represented at the Conference.

**March 17.** Addressing a mammoth public meeting at Azad Maidan, Bombay, said if the Congress did not conform to the terms of compromise, the Government was free to take any action they liked.



and similarly if the Government committed breach of the terms, the people were not bound by the truce, which meant only that the parties had suspended the fight to try the method of compromise and negotiations.

In an interview to "Scrutator" said that he was receiving complaints that things were not going on as smoothly as they might. He thought that Lord Irwin was doing his best to do the right thing but the same was not true of all the Provincial Governments.

Met a deputation of Indian merchants headed by Sir Chunilal Mehta and also had talks with mill owners and cloth merchants.

Visited Khilafat House to meet Maulana Shaukat Ali to express his sympathies on the death of Maulana Mohammed Ali.

Held prolonged talk with Subhas Chandra Bose who came to see him.

**March 19.** Met Lord Irwin and Mr. Emerson on arrival in Delhi and discussed the question of death sentences on Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, and Rajguru, and release of political prisoners.

**March 20.** Met deputations from Hindu Sabha, the Sikhs and the Muslims separately to hear their points of view. Also discussed political problems with the princes.

**March 21.** Attended a conference of R.T.C. delegates and princes convened by the Viceroy and gave his views regarding different aspects of the deliberations at the Round Table Conference.

**March 24.** Interviewed by representative of *Manchester Guardian*; said that he was disturbed by Mr. Benn's statement on safeguards. The right of British business interests must be a matter of negotiations. He stressed that the princes must give certain minimum democratic rights to their subjects.

Left for Karachi to attend Congress session. At Delhi station he learnt about the execution of Bhagat Singh. In a Press statement said "the grave blunder committed by the Government has increased our power for bringing freedom for which Bhagat Singh and his comrades have died."

**March 25.** Arrived in Karachi with other Congress leaders and joined deliberations of Working Committee held in his hut.

**March 26.** Met Indian merchants and assured them that the Congress would take all possible steps to rescind the clause for equality of rights for Indian and British interests. In a statement to Press deplored the communal strife that was raging in Kanpur.

**March 27.** On the question of federation said at a conference of workers that he did not want the princes to break away by the Congress insisting on too many conditions precedent.

At the Subjects Committee meeting feelingly referred to Shri Ganesh Shankar Vidyarathi's death in riots at Kanpur.

**March 30.** Wound up the debate on Gandhi-Irwin pact which was ratified by the Congress Subjects Committee session.

**March 31.** Introducing a resolution on fundamental rights at the Congress Subjects Committee meeting explained the objects underlying it and extended his full support.

Addressed the open session of Congress appealing to the members to ratify Delhi Pact, which was approved.

Replied to civic address presented by Karachi Corporation.



**April 1.** Moved for approval of the new list of the Congress Working Committee at the A.I.C.C. meeting.

Attended Jamiat-ul-Ulema conference where he deplored the communal fracas at Cawnpore.

In the course of a special interview to the *Statesman* he declared, "There may be civil war and serious communal strife when we get *swaraj* but only for a little while."

**April 2.** Chosen sole delegate plenipotentiary to represent the Congress at the Round Table Conference in London.

Left for Delhi.

**April 6.** In an important statement on communal problems he said he was even prepared for full surrender to the unanimously expressed view of the Sikhs and the Muslims.

**April 7.** Inaugurated the fourth annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry with speech in Hindustani in Delhi.

**April 8.** Arrived at Amritsar from Delhi.

Replied to address of welcome presented by Amritsar Municipality and City Congress Committee.

**April 10.** Returned to Ahmedabad.

**April 11.** Addressed convocation of the Gujarat Vidyapith.

**April 16.** Bade farewell at Bombay to Lord Irwin who was on his way home. Delivered to Lord Irwin a note addressed to British Premier to be handed over on arrival in London.

Replied to civic address presented by Bombay Corporation.

**April 22.** Wrote a letter to Maxwell in connection with differences with the Government on interpretation of Delhi Agreement and cited specific complaints of violation of the pact by Government officials.

**April 23.** Arrived at Bardoli with a view to visit the villages.

Entered into correspondence with H. W. Emerson, Home Secretary, Government of India, regarding non-observance of Delhi Agreement.

**April 28.** Came to Borsad and met the Collector of Kaira. He cited instances of breach of truce terms by the officials. Intended to stay till a satisfactory solution regarding return of confiscated property was reached under the truce terms.

**April 30.** Gave an interview to Associated Press of America, which was filmed for a talkie-movie.

**May 2.** In statement issued from Borsad said that there had been a distinct breach by the Government of clause 17-B of the Delhi settlement regarding return of forfeited lands, resumption of services by *patels*, etc.

**May 5.** Figured again in a talkie film, this time for an Indian company. He spoke for a few minutes only, first in Hindi and then in English, on the spinning-wheel.

**May 11.** Left Borsad for Simla for talks with the Government of India.

**May 13.** Had talks with Home Secretary on the different aspects of the complaints regarding observance of the Truce by both sides.

**May 15.** Had an hour's interview with Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy at Simla and characterised his conversation as healthy and good. In the morning he held talks with Emerson, Home Secretary.



- May 16.** Held discussions with Sir T. B. Sapru, M. R. Jayakar, Madan Mohan Malaviya and others at Simla.  
Held two hours' talk with Sir George Schuster, mainly relating to Salt tax and the effects of it on true terms.
- May 17.** Left for Nainital in the afternoon
- May 20.** Addressed a huge public meeting in the evening and gave the people the message of non-violence and *khaddar*.  
Had an interview with U. P. Governor at Nainital and discussed the agrarian question
- May 21.** Explained the agrarian situation to the Press at Nainital.  
In a letter to Mohammed Ismail said he was prepared to accept any solution presented by Muslims and the Sikhs to avoid conflict.  
In another letter to Emerson advised him to appoint a Board of Enquiry to go into allegations of either side regarding truce terms.
- May 22.** In statement to Press at Nainital declared he was unable to make any statement yet regarding his plans for going to London.
- May 23.** Issued a manifesto to the Kisans of U.P.
- May 24.** Wrote a long letter to H. W. Emerson, Home Secretary.  
Halted at Mathura on way back from Nainital to Borsad.
- May 26.** Arrived in Bardoli to discuss the situation with Sardar Patel.
- May 28.** Issued a manifesto to the Zamindars of U.P.
- May 31.** Wrote a letter to Lord Willingdon expressing willingness to attend R.T.C. on certain terms.
- June 1.** In reply to pressmen said, "Whilst I am carrying on delicate negotiations, I may not be over-communicative, but I can make a general statement that I am not conscious of having done anything to endanger the settlement".
- June 10.** Attended Congress Working Committee meeting in Bombay.
- June 11.** Presented certificates to Hindustani Seva Dal Cadets.
- June 12.** Received a deputation of Europeans in Bombay and assured them that the Congress attitude was not one of hostility to them.
- June 14.** Told the Press he was in correspondence with the Government regarding his proposed visit to North-West Frontier Provinces. In a letter to Home Secretary advised the appointment of a permanent Board for Arbitration to decide the question of interpretation of the Delhi Truce.
- June 18.** In an article in *Young India*, he declared : "It was my essentially democratic nature which, in spite of my very strong objection, impelled me to submit to Congress Working Committee resolution. . . . But having accepted the resolution of the Working Committee I shall faithfully carry it out and work at the conference with all possible zeal."
- June 25.** On arrival at Bombay said in reply to a question by pressmen that he would attend the Federal Structure Committee meetings if he attended the R.T.C.  
Dined with the Europeans of Bombay at the Taj Hotel.
- July 3.** In a letter to Sir Ernest Hoston wrote that he would gladly attend Federal Structure Committee meeting if the way was open for him to sail for England in time. He wanted Sir Ernest to inform the Viceroy that the working of the Delhi settlement was causing great anxiety to him.
- July 7.** In an interview at Bombay declared that the Congress was free to press for independence at the R.T.C. The mandate given to him by the Congress was unequivocal.



**July 12.** Left for Surat *on route* to Simla for interview with the Viceroy.

**July 15.** Had discussions with H. W. Emerson on arrival at Simla.

**July 18.** Held conversation with Lord Willingdon at Simla for three hours.

Selected as a member of the Federal Structure Committee of the R.T.C.

**July 21.** Had another interview with the Viceroy after which he said his sailing for England was still doubtful.

**July 22.** Left Simla with Jawaharlal Nehru

**July 24.** Wrote a letter to Collector of Surat complaining of repressive measures against poor villagers and forcing of payments from them.

**July 25.** Informed the Viceroy of his ultimatum to the Collector of Surat.

**July 26.** Condemned attempt on life of the Acting Governor of Bombay.

**July 29.** In a letter to the Viceroy said he was holding himself in readiness to start if the atmosphere cleared.

**July 30.** Wrote an article in *Young India* suggesting Rs. 500 as the highest salary of Government servants.

**July 31.** Visited the Ashram on arrival at Ahmedabad.

**August 2.** In an article in *Young India* said, "I am more a reformer than a politician."

**August 4.** Returned to Bombay after an interview with Bombay Governor at Poona.

**August 6.** Condemned in *Young India* the murder of Garlick, a Judge in Bengal.

Attended A.I.C.C. meeting at Bombay. Spoke on his resolution condemning political murders, which was adopted.

**August 9.** Opened special session of Hindustani Seva Dal conference with a speech. The Dal was dissolved and merged in the Congress organisations

**August 11.** In a telegram to Viceroy informed him that Bombay Government's disappointing letter rendered it impossible for him to go to London to attend Round Table Conference.

**August 14.** Wrote a personal letter to the Viceroy setting out the minimum terms for going to England to attend R. T. C. Left for Ahmedabad.

In reply to a cable from London said, "I would make a dash for London the moment the way is cleared for me by those who are in a position to do so."

**August 19.** Published charge-sheet against the Government, with the permission of the Viceroy.

**August 20.** At Ahmedabad said he welcomed counter-charges by the Government to be judged by an impartial tribunal.

**August 21.** In reply to a telegram from Viceroy said he was prepared to go to Simla for personal discussion, if reasonable satisfaction could be given to the Congress.

**August 23.** Received information that the Viceroy was agreeable to see him for talks. Informed Viceroy that he was proceeding to Simla along with Congress President Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

**August 25.** Arrived in Simla for discussions with the Viceroy. Had an interview with the Home Secretary. Interviewed, he said he would be content with a satisfactory assurance.

**August 26.** Interviewed the Viceroy at the Viceregal Lodge. Also had sions with the Home Secretary.



**August 27.** Signed a fresh agreement with Lord Willingdon reserving right of the Congress to adopt defensive direct action. The settlement of March 15 remained operative. Decided to go to London to attend the Round Table Conference as the only Congress representative.

**August 29.** Sailed for England by *S.S. "Rajputana"* at 1.30 in the afternoon soon after arrival in Bombay in the morning. Addressing a huge crowd, assured the people that he would abide by the Congress mandate. Spent first day on high seas in a jubilant mood. Held prayers on the deck.

**September 1.** On board the ship received about 200 wireless messages, including one from the Viceroy, wishing *bon voyage*. The Viceroy added, "You may always count on me".

**September 2.** While on board the ship issued an appeal to his countrymen saying, "Now that I am drawing away from India's shores, let me appeal to the Indian people to preserve absolutely a non-violent atmosphere during my absence and follow the constructive programme".

**September 3.** Disembarked on arrival at Aden where he was presented with an illuminated address and a purse of £325. Visited various points in the town before returning to *S.S. Rajputana*. Gave a message to the Arab people.

In an interview said, "I shall work for an India in which the poorest will feel it is their country and in whose making they will have an effective voice" for which ideal he would struggle at the Round Table Conference.

**September 4.** In an interview to Reuters said he would prepare nothing in advance. Everything would come to him spontaneously when he faced Mr. Macdonald and other delegates to the R.T.C.

**September 6.** In an interview to Cairo's *Al Ahram* said if the R.T.C. failed the consequence would be resumption of C.D. Movement. Also gave a message urging the Egyptian nationalists to fight a non-violent battle. In a special interview to *Daily Telegraph* said he would be a party to no settlement subjugating any community to another in India.

**September 7.** In an interview at Suez to *Egyptian Gazette* declared, "Taking what I can see on the horizon as a basis to deduce about the conference, I can tell you that what I expect from the conference is nil". Replied to an address on behalf of Indians in Egypt and thanked them for it and costly presents. Expressed great disappointment on arrival at Port Said as a large number of admirers were prevented by the authorities from meeting him.

**September 10.** In an interview on board the ship said he had prepared no plans, no speeches, no arguments and no programme for his stay in England.

**September 11.** Mobbed on arrival at Marseilles. Told pressmen that he felt "nervous" on approaching England after 17 years. "I am going to England to realize the dream of my life—the freedom of my country", he added. Left at 4.30 p.m. by P. and O. Express for Calais.

In an interview to *New York Times* said he had no intention to visit the United States as he believed he was "not wanted" there.

In another interview said he would be going to Lancashire even if he was lynched.

**September 12.** Before landing at Folkstone said, in an interview to *Daily Herald*, "I am bound absolutely by the Karachi Congress resolution.



But within that boundary I am free.” 5,000 people marched to greet him while landing. Later he drove to Grand Hotel and then to the Students’ Union where he gave a speech.

In a message for the people of India said, “Tell them they will best help me by observing complete non-violence in thought, word and deed”. Reached London in the evening and was received by James Morley, M.P., on behalf of the Reception Committee. On arrival at the Friends’ House he was received by the Chairman and others and given a rousing welcome to which he gave a suitable reply.

Stayed in Kingsley Hall at Bow.

Broadcast an address to U.S.A. “inviting all the great nations of the earth to give their co-operation to India in her mighty struggle”.

**September 13.** In a message to *The Times* said, “I want the goodwill of every Englishman and every Englishwoman in the mission of peace that has brought me to England”.

Had a long conversation with Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald at the Dorchester Hotel.

**September 15.** In a message to *The Hindu*, urged the Government of India to withdraw the Press Bill which he considered reactionary.

Addressing the Federal Structure Committee for the first time outlined the history and ideals of the Indian National Congress and reminded the delegates of the Congress mandate at Karachi by which he was bound. He stressed that although the Congress contemplated a connection with the British people it claimed that either party should have the right to sever the connection. He wanted India to be completely free and had come with that hope. By this he meant control over the army, external affairs, finance, fiscal and economic policy and all that it meant. He promised to pay on behalf of India every legitimate debt to Britain “with our blood”.

**September 19.** Paid a visit to the Children’s House, an East End Clinic and Nursery which he characterised as “an experience which will abide with me for life”.

**September 22.** Met Charlie Chaplin in Beckton Road, Canning Town. At a meeting of the Federal Structure Committee spoke on the rupee question.

**September 23.** Addressed a Guildhouse meeting held under the chairmanship of Dr. Maude Royden where he explained his mission to England which was both “political and spiritual”.

Addressed a three-party meeting held under the auspices of the Commonwealth of India League presided over by Lord Morley, M.P., where he stated India’s case as represented by the Indian National Congress which stood for complete independence but not in isolation in any shape or form.

Repudiated the allegation that the Congress continued boycott of British goods even after Delhi Truce of 5th March, 1931. He said he did all that was possible in his power to stop it.

**September 24.** Attended meeting of the Federal Structure Committee. Congress rejoinder to Government’s reply issued in *Young India*.

Met the Aga Khan on his invitation to discuss communal problem.

**September 25.** Visited Lord Irwin, the ex-Viceroy, at his London home.

Left for a visit to Lancashire.

**September 26.** Received groups of workers and discussed with them the



situation in the cotton industry. Later he met the Mayor who had invited a group of people representing both sides of the cotton industry. In the course of the conversations the Indian leader said his policy would continue to be one of enabling Indian villagers to supply their own wants by handlooms in their own houses.

In reply to questions of press representatives said, "I have come to England, and now to Lancashire, in search of a way out of the difficulty. Unemployment in any country is always bad and it would be a matter of great joy to me if I could contribute towards relieving that unemployment. The poverty I have seen has distressed me, but I am powerless to do anything."

**September 27.** Attended a meeting at Hey's Farm in the course of which he spoke on Lancashire and the boycott. He accepted Lancashire's view that a part of the unemployment was caused by Indian boycott but he explained the Indian point of view and emphasised that it was not done in a spirit of revenge.

At the Town Hall explained Congress attitude to the problem and talking to reporters said he had certainly been very happy in his two-day stay in Lancashire. "I have experienced nothing but the greatest affection and kindness", he added.

**September 28.** Met the Aga Khan again for discussion.

**September 29.** Conferred with Sir Samuel Hoare in London.

**September 30.** Addressed London Branch of the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Great Britain where he referred to communal question. He also stated that without absolute control over the finances, no self-government would be worthwhile. He added, "I share the fear that even at this time there does not appear to be much change at the headquarters. I am positive that power is not going to be given to us suddenly". He reiterated the demand for complete independence.

Condemned the attacks on Villiers at Calcutta and Mr. Durno at Dacca. He reminded also of the continued brutalities in Chittagong and wanton firing in the Detenus camp at Hijli. Had another meeting with the Prime Minister.

**October 1.** Met the Aga Khan and other Moslem delegates at a meeting to discuss communal settlement. The informal meeting decided to ask the Prime Minister for an adjournment of the Minorities Committee meeting of the R.T.C. for another week to try for a settlement.

Addressed the Minorities Committee meeting later in the day and reiterated the decision for an adjournment for another week to try for a settlement of the minorities question after consulting representatives of different groups of delegates.

The proposal was agreed to.

In a statement expressed resentment at the proposed increase in tax on salt in the Indian budget.

**October 2.** On the eve of his birthday he was felicitated in London by the Indian Community in England and presented with a purse.

Another Congress rejoinder to Government was published in *Young India*. His birthday was celebrated at Kingsley Hall, London, where he replied to the felicitations.

Gave an interview to Rev. Henry Carter about drinks and drugs in the morning at Bow. Gave another special interview to the *Jewish Chronicle* on his views on Judaism.



Presided over informal Minorities Committee meeting at the St. James' Palace, London.

In the afternoon he attended a reception in his honour by the London Committee of the Women's Indian Association and the Saroj Nalini Dutt Memorial Association in King George's Hall. In his speech he paid tributes to the women's role in India's struggle.

**October 4.** Paid a private visit to the Dean of Canterbury.

**On or about October 5.** Had an interview with Brailsford in course of which he reiterated his views of complete independence as demanded by the Congress including control over the army, finance, foreign affairs, etc.

Presided over another meeting of unofficial Minorities Committee and said he felt cramped and hemmed in amid a plethora of claims. He was unable to see daylight yet. Expressed his willingness to vacate Chairmanship of the meeting.

**October 8.** Had a discussion with the representatives of Missionary societies of Great Britain and Ireland at Church Missionary House, London; while criticising some aspects of missionary work he admitted that the missions had done indirect good to India.

At the ninth meeting of the Minorities Committee confessed failure to secure an agreed solution of communal question and suggested the appointment of a judicial tribunal in the constitution to give a final decision. He then restated the Congress position and the fundamental rights accepted by it.

Had a meeting with Madame Montessori.

**October 9.** Speaking at a Federal Structure Committee meeting, disagreed with proposed postponement of deliberations of the Committee and suggested that the delegates must continue to work without rest by cancelling the holidays and come to a decision regarding the knotty problems.

**October 12.** Accorded reception by the National Labour Club at Caxton Hall.

**October 13.** In the course of conversation with American and British journalists and Indian friends said, "I do not expect the Government to solve the Indian question at this conference but am participating in it in fulfilment of my promise that I gave Lord Irwin to discuss every issue and I value the contacts outside the conference more".

At a meeting in Bloomsbury with Indian students, denied having given any undertaking to Lord Irwin not to urge complete independence for India.

**October 14.** Intervening in the debate on distribution of financial resources at the Federal Structure Committee suggested that the question of Federal subject be referred back to the sub-committee to give a minimum scheme. Addressed a crowded meeting of students of many nationalities at the Student Movement House, Russell Square,

**October 15.** Had long interview with Sir Samuel Hoare. Attended another meeting of the Federal Structure Committee discussing financial resources problems.

**October 16.** Met a Muslim delegation at the Ritz Hotel and discussed the question of arbitration in all its aspects.

Addressed a meeting of the Temperance Council at the Central Hall, Westminster, on "The alcohol and opium problem in India".

**October 17.** Visited Chichester, an ancient cathedral town, where he met Bishop Bell Canon Campbell and C.P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* with whom he had a long talk.



In an interview with the Editor of the *Spectator* he said, "In my opinion the solution of the Indian problem in a manner satisfactory to Indian aspirations would largely help Great Britain to solve her own economic question". He told the Editor that if the conference failed and the Indian people felt that British declarations were not genuine, the people would use all the forces at their disposal to achieve freedom.

Left for Nottingham. Addressing the University College students there said India sought complete independence in the fullest sense of the term including control of the defence forces, external affairs and finance.

**October 18.** Visited Birmingham. Stayed in Woodbrook settlement. His visit aroused considerable interest among students. He addressed the gathering for two hours.

**October 20.** Speaking at a meeting of the Federal Structure Committee while discussing the report of the Federal Finance Sub-committee said that he not only wanted limits to taxation on several items but "should resist a tax on salt altogether and not merely limit it". But he opined there should be no limit so far as customs were concerned. He also proposed reduction in military expenditure.

Recording for the Columbia Broadcasting Company spoke on Unseen Power that defied proof.

**October 21.** Addressed the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House, Lord Lothian presiding. Said the foremost thing the future state of India would look after would be the economic welfare of the masses. The expenditures on civil as well as military accounts must be cut down. Congress had no fear of any invasion from any side. On the communal question, said, he at any rate would in no case be a party to the vivisection of the nation.

**October 22.** Attended 39th Meeting of the Federal Structure Committee. In an interview to the *Statesman* said, "If the conference fails, I very much fear that there will be no choice before the Congress except the revival of the boycott and civil disobedience".

**October 23.** Addressed Federal Structure Committee meeting on the Federal Court.

**October 24-25.** Visited Eton and Oxford; met students and teachers and replied to questions at meetings.

**October 31.** Criticised the Bengal Ordinance issued by the Viceroy and spoke on the situation in India at a meeting of the Commonwealth of India League.

**November 1.** Addressed a meeting of the Indian Majlis at Cambridge.

**November 2.** It being his day of silence, his note of dissent was read out in the Federal Structure Sub-Committee's concluding session in which he adhered to one chamber as best but subject to certain vital modifications. He was, however, not opposed to a small second chamber as an advisory body. He was opposed to special representation to the landlords, European and Indian commerce and labour and advocated a common electorate with direct election.

**November 3.** Attended the annual meeting of the Children's House held at Eccleston Square Guild House.

Had a meeting with the Prime Minister. Reiterated his demand for referring the communal issue to a Judicial Tribunal.

**November 4.** Was the guest of the Indian Medical Association at a reception in London.



At the 44th meeting of the Federal Structure Committee, referring to "treaties of cession" enquired whether these would be secret or open treaties.

Met a group of foreign students belonging to International Student Movement Service.

**November 5.** In an interview explained why he was agreeable to special representation for the Muslims and Sikhs, but opposed the same in the case of the depressed classes. He added if the conference failed they would seek other ways of attaining *swaraj* on returning to India.

Addressing gathering of the postal workers union said the responsibility for trouble in Kashmir lay with the British Government. The Indian princes were prisoners in their palaces and had no real freedom.

Met in his usual dress King George V at a reception in honour of the R.T.C. delegates at the Buckingham Palace and had a five minute talk with the King.

**November 6.** In a letter, signed also by 26 other delegates to the R.T.C., opposed the introduction of provincial autonomy as the first step leaving federation and responsibility at the centre to follow later. The letter opined that the minorities question should not be allowed to block the way to full and comprehensive responsible government.

**November 7.** Sent cablegram to Congress Working Committee regarding the situation at R.T.C. in reply to Sardar Patel and proposed to stay till the end of the R.T.C.

**November 8.** Made it plain to the Prime Minister and Mr. Baldwin and Lord Irwin that it was useless to expect him to lower Congress demands.

**November 9.** On return to London from Oxford, was interviewed by Reuter and said he should be able to decide the date of his departure in a week's time. He stressed his eyes were constantly on events in India.

Addressed the members of Fellowship of Reconciliation, an organisation working for international peace. Explained in his speech how the Congress represented the masses of India.

**November 11.** At a conference of the Round Table delegates explained his conception of provincial autonomy which contemplated unfettered popular control of all subjects.

In an interview to Press said, "I do not think the Conference must fail". I shall know in a week", he said, when further questioned.

**November 12.** Conferred for nearly two hours with the executive and parliamentary committee of the Commonwealth of India League.

Had a long interview with Sir Samuel Hoare who conveyed to Gandhiji the Cabinet's decisions as regards the communal and political issues. Sir Samuel explained Government's scheme of Provincial Autonomy first and federal conditions afterwards, replying to which Gandhiji pointed out that such autonomy was no autonomy since it gave no control of the Imperial Services and freedom as regards law and order. He however informed Sir Samuel that Congress might consider the scheme of Provincial Autonomy if it embodied essentials of the Congress demand.

**November 13.** Spoke at 10th meeting of the Minorities Committee.

"Because there is no communal settlement agreed to by us," he said, "as the last resort and the last touch, you will announce the policy of His Majesty's Government in connection with the constitution and all the matters that may arise from it. I cannot help feeling that it will be a sorry ending to a conference which was brought into being with so much



trumpeting and with so much hope excited in the minds and breasts of my people". On the so-called agreed scheme between the smaller minorities and Mussalmans, referred to by Sir H. Carr, he said, "The Congress is out of it". He declared that Congress claimed to represent 85 to 95 per cent of the population of the whole of India. Opposing separate electorates for untouchables, he declared "I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that if I was the only person to resist this thing I will resist it with my life."

At Westminster School meeting, said, "At the present moment the Conference seems to have fizzled out and there seems to be no ray of hope in the impenetrable gloom". Sent a telegram to Lord Irwin saying, Conference crumbling down. Leaving London next week."

In an interview to the *News Chronicle* said he was not going to sign the request to the Prime Minister to arbitrate in the dispute between the Hindus and Moslems. He added he would have no objection to Mr. Macdonald personally as arbitrator but to ask him to arbitrate would be to petition to the British Government to do so which would go against the Congress mandate. Also wrote a letter to the Prime Minister that the provincial autonomy formula was not acceptable to him.

**November 17.** Speaking on defence problem in the Federal Structure Committee, demanded complete control of the army, external affairs and finance in a free India. The Congress case was that there should be complete responsibility transferred to India.

**November 19.** Spoke on commercial discrimination at meeting of the Federal Structure Committee and said that the rights of the British commercial community were to stand on exactly the same footing as those of Indian-born subjects. There would be no racial discrimination. He expressed his inability to accept the formula presented to the meeting. The Congress was also against it. He urged the Europeans to withdraw this idea of safeguarding their rights.

Had an interview with Lloyd George.

**November 20.** Addressed the London Vegetarian Society. Explained the moral basis of vegetarianism and his restriction to five articles of food.

**November 22.** Interviewed by Randolph Churchill on behalf of Hearst Press, told him that the Premier was more anxious to placate the Tories than India.

**November 24.** To a representative of *Echo de Paris*, said, he anticipated he would be arrested upon his return to India. He would recommence the struggle if the conference failed.

**November 25.** Speaking in the Federal Structure Committee on the nature of financial safeguards, he voiced his objections to paragraphs 18, 19 and 20 of the Finance Report and stressed that he was unable to endorse the restrictions suggested. Explaining, he said some of the obligations which were supposed to belong to India ought not to be saddled upon India and should be taken over by Great Britain.

Addressing another session of the Committee the same day on the question of the grant of provincial autonomy said what was under discussion was certainly not the provincial autonomy he meant. While condemning the terrorist activities in Bengal he said the methods adopted by the Government were wrong. All these things would be impossible in his conception



of provincial autonomy. The terrorists could not be frightened by show of force as they were ready for any sacrifice. What was needed was removal of terrorism by converting the advocates of it to non-violence. He feared that whatever slender thread of co-operation between India and Britain has been built up was about to snap if the conference failed and he should again have to declare himself a non-co-operator and civil resister and ask the millions to do the same.

Interviewed by the *New Leader* representative on the eve of the breaking up of the Round Table Conference said he had never found it difficult to resume the civil disobedience campaign. He agreed that there would be united opposition in India if the conference broke down on the issue of responsible Government at the centre.

**November 26.** Had an interview with a group of young communists headed by "Baba", Mrs., Naidu's youngest son. Questions had been left with Gandhiji a few days earlier, to which he gave his replies. The interviewer was Charles Petrasch.

**November 28.** Attended the Plenary Session of the R.T.C.,

**November 30.** Addressing the Plenary Session of the R.T.C. he gave his final warning to the British Government saying, "I want you to understand what the Congress stands for. My life is at your disposal. But remember that you have at your disposal the lives of all these dumb millions. I do not want to sacrifice those lives if I can possibly help it. Therefore please remember that I will count no sacrifice too great if by chance I can pull through an honourable settlement."

He added that the Congress itself would always be in a compromising spirit for which there was ample room. What he wanted was to transform slavery into complete freedom for his countrymen.

Sent a cable to Sardar Patel.

**December 1.** In the morning, before leaving for the final session of the R.T.C. at St. James's Palace, he gave an interview to a small party of journalists in the course of which he said that peace might come out of strife, for all strife was not anti-pacific.

After statement by Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald, laying down the policy of the British Government regarding the future Government of India, Gandhiji moved a vote of thanks to the chair.

Meeting the Press in the afternoon, Gandhiji, declared, "It is not so much the Premier's statement or what happened at the Conference that is worrying me as what is happening in India at the present moment..." While condemning terrorism in Bengal, he said the Premier's declaration, the powers taken by ordinance by the Government of India and other things that were happening in India, filled him with the greatest misgivings.

Had a final interview with the Premier and Sir Samuel Hoare.

**December 4.** Shortly before midnight he received some 30 Pressmen to whom he said there was no possibility of a revival of civil disobedience on the issue of the Premier's declaration until he conferred with the Congress in India. He repeated his declaration regarding possibility of civil disobedience and reaffirmed his tentative opinion that the statement meant a parting of the ways.

In a statement he declared in the name of the Congress that (1) he demanded the complete Independence of India (2) without excluding volun-



tary association with England on terms of equality and (3) would not refuse federation or recognized safeguards for the interest of India.

**December 5.** Left Victoria Station London in the morning for Folkstone where he boarded a steamer for Paris *en route* to India. In a farewell interview to the *Bristol Evening News* said, "I came a seeker after peace, I return fearful of war."

In his last words before leaving he said, "The English people should believe me when I say, if it falls to my lot to fight them, I will be engaged in the fight never out of hatred but most surely out of love."

A large number of Indian and English admirers gave him a hearty send-off.

On arrival in Paris in the afternoon, he was greeted by a large crowd.

At a reception by the Indians, with a purse of £500, said, "I am returning home much stronger and wiser. I know we have to go through still more suffering to vindicate our position."

At a public meeting of the citizens of Paris, he spoke on the message of non-violence for a world disgusted with lies and deceits as a result of warlike methods.

**December 6.** Met Romain Rolland at Villeneuve in Switzerland where he discussed "the disease of Europe".

Attended conscientious objectors' meeting in a Church arranged by P. Ceresole.

**December 8.** Came to Lausanne and addressed a meeting at People's Hall on "Europe's Malady". Answered questions on non-violence.

**December 10.** At a big meeting in the Victoria Hall under the auspices of International Women's League, talked on 'non-violence'.

**December 11.** Returned to Villeneuve and left for Rome, crossing the Swiss frontier in the evening.

Reached Milan where two orientalists met him at the station.

**December 12.** Reached Rome in the morning and stayed with General Morris, a friend of Romain Rolland.

Met Mussolini. Visited the Vatican. Saw historic monuments in Rome. Among those who met him in Italy was a daughter of Tolstoy who was 68.

In the Sistine Chapel he stood for several minutes before the Crucifix and murmured to Mahadev Desai: "One can't help being moved to tears."

**December 14.** Princess Maria, youngest daughter of the King of Italy, unexpectedly paid him a visit before he left for Brindisi.

**December 15.** Left Brindisi for India by S.S. *Pilsana*.

**December 17.** Authorised a complete denial of the authenticity of an interview which he was alleged to have given to *Geornale d'Italia* during his stay in Rome.

**December 27.** Told Reuter's correspondent on board the ship, "I shall exhaust every resource before advising India once more to go through the fire of suffering."

**December 28.** Before disembarking in Bombay, in an interview to A.P. of India, said that he saw British Empire was disintegrating and Europe could not sustain the artificial life it was living.

On disembarkation, he was accorded a magnificent welcome. In an interview to the Press he said, "I will strain every nerve to avoid a fiery ordeal naturally enough. But if it becomes inevitable it is unbecoming of a warrior to draw a long face when death is in front of him." He added,



“My experience of the R.T.C. is that it was a debating society and certainly not representative.”

Addressing a mammoth meeting at the Azad Maidan the same evening, while emphasising his eagerness for co-operation said he was also ready for a struggle.

Referring to firing at Kohat he said that fire was opened on the “Red Shirts” merely because they refused to disperse.

Explained his experiences in England at a Congress Working Committee meeting. Addressing the Welfare of India League at night, spoke of the developments during the last few days in India, the Bengal ordinance and the arrest of Jawaharlal Nehru.

**December 29.** After a meeting of the Working Committee sent a friendly telegram to the Viceroy asking for an interview and guidance.

**December 30.** Gave a detailed account of his work in England to the Congress Working Committee.

Visited ailing friends and reminded his staff that, before actual arrest or round-up came, they should fulfil their obligations.

**December 31.** Received a stiff reply from the Viceroy’s Private Secretary.

Drafted a reply to the Viceroy and submitted it to Working Committee which approved it. He wound up his telegram with a copy of the resolutions just passed by the Congress Working Committee.

## 1932

**January 1.** Met deputations of different bodies.

Addressed vast prayer gathering in the compound of Lady Northcote Hindu Orphanage.

**January 2.** Received Viceroy’s reply refusing to see him under the threat of resumption of civil disobedience.

Sent telegrams to Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar to acquaint them with the situation. More deputations waited on him. Told India Welfare League deputationists, “My telegram was in a studiously courteous language. The condition laid down in the Viceroy’s reply is insulting, viz. that I must repudiate my colleagues.” The deputation after hearing him decided to send another telegram to Viceroy assuring him that Gandhiji had an open mind and should be given an opportunity to discuss the situation.

**January 3.** At 4’0’ clock morning prayer, delivered a message to the people to face “a fiery ordeal” without malice, hatred or violence.

Sent a cable to Commonwealth of India League explaining that Civil Disobedience was not a new thing.

Sent another telegram to the Viceroy.

**January 4.** Gandhiji and Sardar Patel were arrested and interned once more in Yeravda jail under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827.

Earlier, when Devadas woke him up at night with the news that the expected messengers had arrived to take him away, Gandhiji immediately wrote out two messages, one to the mill-hands of Ahmedabad and the other to the people of India.

Four more ordinances were promulgated by the Government of India the same day. The Congress organisation was banned.

**January 27.** Had an interview with Mirabeau in prison.



**February 26.** In a letter from Yeravda Prison to Miss Edith Hope Scott asked for Ruskin's writings for his reading

**March 11.** Wrote a letter from Yeravda Prison to Sir Samuel Hoare stating that he would fast unto death if the Hindu community was dissected by the grant of separate electorates.

**April 13.** Received reply from Sir Samuel Hoare saying that the case about the "Depressed Classes" would be decided solely upon merits after Lord Lothian's Committee submitted a report.

**April 14.** Agreed to persuade a prisoner on hunger-strike brought before Gandhiji by the Superintendent, to give it up.

**June 7.** Declined to avail himself of weekly interviews if Mirabehn was not allowed to interview him weekly as before.

**June 22.** Wrote a letter to Rabindranath Tagore.

His letter to Friends' Delegation in London (in which he endorsed Tagore's message in general terms but expressed his inability to make definite proposals without a free interchange of views with his Congress colleagues) was forwarded to *The Times* by the Archbishop of York and others with the hope that the opportunity might be taken for some gesture of goodwill from the side of British Government.

**August 17.** Communal Award by Ramsay Macdonald was announced, giving the "Depressed Classes" separate electorates.

**August 18.** Decided to undertake fast unto death against the communal Award and conveyed this decision to British Premier.

In a letter to Premier Ramsay Macdonald reminded him of his announcement on 13th Nov., 1931, at the Minorities Committee meeting and wrote, "I have to resist your decision with my life.....by declaring a perpetual fast unto death..... The fast will cease if the British Government revise their decision."

**September 8.** Received Premier Macdonald's reply to his letter imputing to him inimical intention in respect of the "Depressed Classes".

**September 9.** Replied to British Premier communicating his final decision to go on fast from September 20.

In his letter he said "In the establishment of separate electorates at all for the Depressed Classes I sense the injection of poison that is calculated to destroy Hinduism and do no good whatever to the 'Depressed Classes'."

**September 12.** His correspondence with Sir Samuel Hoare and Ramsay Macdonald released for publication.

**September 15.** Wrote a letter to Bombay Government explaining his fast.

**September 16.** Wrote a letter to G. D. Birla assuring him that there was no cause to be upset.

**September 17.** Replying to Sir T. B. Sapru, said that he could not alter his decision to go on fast.

Sent a telegram to Viceroy, on Government's decision to remove him on commencement of contemplated fast to unknown private residence under certain restrictions, informing the Government he would be unable to conform to any conditions as to movement from place to place or otherwise that might be attached to foreshadowed release.

**September 19.** Wrote to the Ashramites to consider the fast as a festival. Sent replies to telegrams urging him to desist from the fast and confirming his decision, to Jamshed Mehta, Rajagopalachari and others.

Leaders' conference called by Pt. Malaviya met in Bombay.



Gandhiji interviewed in Jail by a deputation of leaders.

Mass meetings held all over the country demanding withdrawal of the Communal Award.

**September 20.** Commenced fast at noon.

Earlier replied to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's wire. Talking to pressmen in jail after commencing the fast said, "The withdrawal of separate electorates, though it will satisfy the letter of my vow, will never satisfy the spirit behind it. I am not going to rest content with a patched up pact between 'touchables' and 'untouchables'.

In the course of an interview he stressed the ethical and spiritual aspect of the fast.

Sent his reply to Tagore's telegram.

Sent reply to Rajbhoj explaining his objection to statutory reservation. He however expressed his willingness to meet him, Rao Bahadur Rajah and Dr. Ambedkar by appointment.

**September 21.** In a letter to Rajbhoj said that nothing would satisfy him till the last vestige of untouchability was eradicated.

Interviewed by Pt. M. M. Malaviya, M.C. Rajah and Dr. Ambedkar in Yeravda Jail to discuss terms for ending his fast.

**September 23.** His condition deteriorated.

Cabled to American friends that his sacrifice would promote deliverance of humanity from untouchability.

In a statement to the Press, urged all friends to desist from sympathetic fast.

**September 24.** Agreed to accept the terms of settlement reached at a conference of leaders, conveyed by Pt. Malaviya. When interviewed by the leaders in Jail after the agreement, he asked each one of them if they were satisfied with the settlement. The conference, representing all shades of Hindu opinion, adopted the resolution : "Henceforth among Hindus no one shall be regarded as an untouchable by reason of his birth". The agreement reached was cabled to British Premier, urging immediate acceptance to save Gandhiji's life.

**September 25.** The Hindu Mahasabha approved the settlement of the Malaviya conference and urged the Premier to alter the Award accordingly. In a statement to the Press Gandhiji said, "If the Premier accepts the settlement in *toto*, I would be bound to break the fast".

Interviewed by Miss Ellen Wilkinson and V. K. Krishna Menon in jail.

Doctors pronounced that his life had entered the danger zone on account of the fast.

**September 26.** Broke his fast at 5 p.m. after the British Government's acceptance of the Poona settlement was announced in the presence of Tagore, Parachure Shastri and others. He had received at 4-15 p.m. a copy of the Premier's reply in acceptance of the settlement.

In the course of a statement to the Press afterwards said, "The sacrificial fire lit shall not be put out as long as there is the slightest trace of untouchability still left in Hinduism. The settlement arrived at is a generous gesture on all sides". He also thanked the Government for expediting the decision.

**September 27.** Urged Sir Krishnan Nair to save the life of Kelappan who had started a fast on 20th September for the opening of the Guruvayur temple to Harijans.



Replying from jail to messages of congratulation on his birthday according to the Hindu calendar said, "None will be more delighted than I to endorse any worthy suggestion for co-operation by the Congress with the Government and the R.T.C."

**September 30.** Special privileges allowed to him during the fast for Harijan work were withdrawn by the Government.

Sent reply by wire to Kelappan's letter, advising him to suspend fast.

**October 1.** Sent his final telegram to Kelappan urging him to break fast.

**October 9.** In a message to Shaukat Ali said that if he made a diligent search for unity he would still find him in his pocket.

**October 15.** Urged Rangaswamy to move in the matter of opening Guruvayur temple for Harijans.

**October 24.** Wrote letter to Dr. Syed Mahmood wishing success to Hindu-Muslim unity conference scheduled to be held at Allahabad on Nov. 3.

**October 25.** Sent wire to Zamorin of Calicut urging removal of all difficulties in the way of opening the Guruvayur temple to untouchables.

**November 4.** Issued a statement on untouchability.

**November 5.** Released second statement on untouchability.

**November 7.** Granted special interview to Associated Press of India when the Government removed restrictions on him after a protracted correspondence. In the course of the interview he uttered a warning against allowing the anti-untouchability to degenerate in "merely spectacular demonstrations".

**November 9.** Issued another statement from Jail on untouchability.

**November 11.** Interviewed by Rajbhoj, advised him to await the decision on Guruvayur and said he would undertake fast on the issue by the 2nd January next in connection with Guruvayur temple-entry question. Sent a telegram to Zamorin urging him not to take up an irreconcilable attitude.

**November 12.** In the course of an interview to *the Hindu* declared that his next fast was dependent upon Kelappan's.

**November 15.** Issued another statement on untouchability.

**November 16.** Released statement on anti-untouchability campaign challenging the Sanatanists in each village to a referendum.

**November 17.** Published his eighth statement on untouchability inviting Sanatanists to joint work to uplift Harijans.

**November 18.** Sent message of condolence on the death of Mrs. Lajpat Rai.

**November 19.** Interviewed by Servants of India Society Chief in jail.

**November 22.** Replying to Lord Sankey, who appealed to him for extending his co-operation to British statesmen, maintained his original stand, holding that if any body was to show a change of heart it was the bureaucracy in India and the Government in Britain.

**November 24.** Replying to Tagore's letter said, "It is enough for me that you are watching and praying".

**November 28.** Issued ninth statement on untouchability announcing that his fast on the issue would begin on 2nd January next.

**December 6.** Issued a statement regarding programme for Anti-Untouchability Day on 18th December.

**December 7.** In an interview in Jail, advised the students on how to help Harijan uplift work.



**December 15.** Issued statement reiterating the principles governing his proposed fast on Guruvayur issue. Refused to give undertaking for his release.

**December 16.** Released a message for observance of Anti-Untouchability Day urging the people to carry message of hope to Harijans. Replied to Secretary, All-India Varnashrama Swaraj Sangh, on Harijan issue and temple entry.

**December 22.** Undertook fast in sympathy with Appasahab Patwardhan who had asked for scavengers' work in Jail and was refused by authorities. Within two days the assurance was given and fast discontinued.

**December 23.** Answered arguments of Sanatanists against temple-entry in the course of an interview with Rao Bahadur Telegokar in Jail.

**December 24.** Set ten questions to the learned Shastris and Pandits for reply as to whether the Shastras sanctioned untouchability.

Wired to Zamorin to let him know whether the Guruvayur Temple was open to all Hindus including Harijans.

**December 29.** In an interview with Associated Press announced postponement of his proposed fast on Guruvayur issue.

**December 30.** In a statement to Press explaining decision to postpone fast, said that after fully dealing with the manner in which the Guruvayur referendum had been carried out; the unchallengeable conclusion was that the majority of the eligible electors were in favour of temple entry by the Harijans.

### 1933

**January 1.** The proposed fast from 2nd January was averted as a result of referendum regarding opening of Guruvayur Temple to 'untouchables' in which the majority of people voted in favour of temple entry.

Wrote a letter to Zamorin expressing painful surprise on his refusal to accept Gandhiji's compromise proposal.

**January 2.** Released correspondence between him and the Zamorin of Calicut on the Guruvayur question. Had an interview with a Pandit on Guruvayur issue.

**January 4.** Completed one year in jail. Had a busy day with anti-untouchability work by holding conversations with Pandits and A. V. Thakkar. Issued an appeal to Sanatanists for solution of Guruvayur deadlock.

**January 13.** Met H. S. L. Polak in prison.

**January 14.** In a statement said it was open to civil resisters to decide whether to continue civil disobedience or take to anti-untouchability work.

**January 20.** Wrote a letter from jail to Pandit M. M. Malaviya regarding the convening of a conference of Sanatanists.

**January 22.** Pleaded for another systematic referendum on Guruvayur temple entry issue; if the Zamorin accepted the result of the referendum he would consider his vow to have been fulfilled.

**January 24.** Issued a statement on Viceroy's refusal to sanction introduction of two Temple Entry Bills saying, "I must take up the challenge in all humility" and urging every Hindu to take up the issue in terms of Malaviyaji's resolution.

**January 25.** Announced in an interview that his proposed fast on temple entry question would "depend on circumstances."



- January 31.** Thanking the Viceroy in a letter for having given sanction to Mr. Ranga Iyer's bills he wrote that it was the Government's duty to facilitate earliest removal of legal impediments created by the British Law of Trusts as temple entry movement was a part of the Yera-vda Pact.
- February 6.** In an announcement from jail said that the first issue of the English edition of the *Harijan* would be published from 11th February.
- February 7.** In a reply to Sankaracharya of Puri said that temple entry was Harijans' right
- February 11.** In a message to the Legislature urged them to facilitate consideration of measures for temple entry in the Central Assembly.
- February 13.** Thanked the Government for allowing Appasaheb to do conservancy work in jail for which he had gone on fast.
- February 14.** Sent wire to Malaviyaji suggesting an interview in jail to discuss the issues arising out of Temple Entry Bills.  
In rejoinder to Dr. Ambedkar, wrote that *Varnashram* was integral part of Hinduism.
- February 15.** In a telegram to Central Assembly members said India's honour was at stake on the issue of temple entry legislation.
- February 17.** In correspondence with P. R. Thakur of Bengal Depressed Classes Association expressed his opinion that no separate university for Harijans was necessary.
- February 20.** Received reply to his enquiry from Sir T. B. Saprú to the effect that there was no element of compulsion in the Temple Entry Bills.
- March 2.** In a press interview in jail stated, in reply to a question, that if necessary permission were given to him, he would, after duly examining the terms of permission, quite willingly make a declaration of his policy on political questions.
- March 4.** Wrote articles in *Harijan* on "joint or separate" temples, schools, wells, etc., for Harijans.  
Announced receipt of subscriptions for the David Scheme for the higher education of the Harijans.
- March 17.** White Paper on Indian constitutional reforms issued by the Government.
- March 27.** In an interview to A. P. on the Temple Entry Bills said that redoubled efforts should be made to open all the private temples to the Harijans.
- March 28.** Sitting in front of two large telescopes in jail gave a discourse on "Universes after universes", in the course of which he said astronomy had by then become a passion with him.
- April 1.** Despite ban imposed by the Government, 27th session of Indian National Congress was held in Calcutta.
- April 2.** Had talks in jail with Dr. Ambedkar who came to interview him in regard to revision of Poona Pact.
- April 7.** Addressed a letter from prison to the Viceroy, according to newspaper reports, on political issues appealing to the Government for a great gesture which would heal the wounds of the last two years and expressing his readiness for honourable co-operation.
- April 8.** In his notes in the *Harijan* urged Hindi readers to make *Harijan Sevak*, the Hindi edition of the *Harijan*, self-supporting.



- April 13.** Devdas Gandhi contradicted that Gandhiji had written any letter to the Viceroy as reported in the Press.
- April 15.** Suggested last Sunday of April to be observed as the second Harijan Day; spelt out a programme for the same in an article in the *Harijan*.
- April 27.** Sent a telegram to Vithalbhai Patel which read, "God spare you. Wire progress."  
In a special article for the *Harijan* referring to Dr. Ambedkar's interview remarked that he was against revision of Poona Pact.
- April 29.** Announced his decision to commence an unconditional and irrevocable fast for 21 days commencing from 8th May next in connection with Harijan movement.
- April 30.** Issued a statement for Harijan Day on 30th April.  
Issued a statement on his proposed fast.
- May 1.** Sent telegram to Government on his decision to fast.
- May 2.** In an interview reiterated his decision to go on fast. Received cable from Gen. Smuts to desist from the fast. A moving letter was also written by Romain Rolland.
- May 3.** In a press interview said, "I am looking forward to the fast in the happiest frame of mind and with the greatest of confidence in the necessity for it."
- May 6.** Told friends and admirers who came to see him, in jail "I am not anxious to die. I will not die. Don't worry yourself for me."
- May 8.** Commenced his 21-day fast in jail for Harijan cause. Released by the Government the same day at 9 p.m. Announced suspension of Civil Disobedience movement for six weeks as he did not want to take advantage of his release to prosecute the C.D. movement.  
In a telegram urged the Government to withdraw the ordinances.  
Issued a statement to press explaining his objectives.
- May 9.** Advised Aney, acting Congress President, to suspend C.D. movement for six weeks following which Mr. Aney issued a statement accordingly.
- May 20.** Sent a telegram to Senapati Bapat appealing to him to give up his sympathetic fast.
- May 29.** Broke his fast at 12-30 p.m. after 21 days. Before giving up the fast said, "Within a minute or two, I break my fast in His name and with faith in Him. In His name it was taken. In His name it terminates."
- June 1.** Continued to stay at Poona while recovering from the effects of the fast.
- June 16.** Sent blessings to Devdas Gandhi, and his wife after marriage.
- July 3.** Replied to Asaf Ali's open letter demanding suspension of C.D. movement and fundamental changes in Congress constitution.
- July 8.** Writing in the *Harijan* stated that he had yet to regain his pre-fast capacity for work and urged his correspondents to have 'mercy' on him.
- July 12.** Addressing the leaders' conference at Tilak Hall, Poona, under the presidentship of Aney, clarified the issues facing the conference and exhorted the delegates not to enter into side issues. He also said he was keen about establishing peace in the country.
- July 14.** Authorised by the leaders' conference to seek unconditional interview with the Viceroy.
- July 17.** Wired to Viceroy seeking interview.



- July 18.** Asked about his immediate programme, said he was going to Sabarmati to visit the people of the Ashram. About Viceroy's reply refusing the interview, said it had created a regrettable situation fraught with grave danger.
- July 19.** In an interview at Ahmedabad said, "I would not hesitate to knock at the Viceregal door. But I suppose that so far as the authorities are concerned, they have finally closed the door."
- July 23.** Issued an appeal for funds for removal of untouchability.  
Sent condolences on the death of J. M. Sen Gupta.  
Mass Civil Disobedience discontinued by M. S. Aney.
- July 25.** Announced his decision to disband Sabarmati Ashram for inauguration of individual C.D. movement as a gesture of sympathy for those who had lost property in the struggle for India's independence. He added that the *khadi* activities of the Sabarmati Ashram would continue.
- July 31.** Communicated to Government his decision to march with his Ashram companions towards Ras.  
His correspondence with Bombay Government regarding future of Sabarmati Ashram published.  
In a message, urged Congressmen to follow his programme.  
Arrested with his followers under Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act, 1932, and lodged in Sabarmati Prison.
- August 1.** In a letter to Superintendent of Ahmedabad Central Prison asked for facilities to do Harijan work from Jail.
- August 2.** Transferred to Yeravda Prison.
- August 4.** Released and served with order to quit Yeravda village and reside at Poona.  
Rearrested on breaking restraint order and sentenced to one year's imprisonment.  
Repeated his request to Government to give facilities for Harijan work and asked for a reply by 7th August. He added that his work could not be interrupted except at the peril of his life.
- August 14.** Forwarded a letter to Bombay Government stating that unless he got permission for Harijan work from Jail by 16th August he would start hunger strike.
- August 16.** Started his projected fast. Received reply from the Government granting some special but limited facilities for anti-untouchability work which did not satisfy him and so he refused to give up fast.
- August 18.** Refused conditional release offered by the Government.
- August 20.** Removal to Sassoon Hospital because of his serious condition.
- August 23.** As his life was thought to be in danger he was released unconditionally.
- August 25.** "I shall seek peace much more eagerly than imprisonment and a possible repetition of fast", he declared in an interview. He added he was still undecided what he would do after his convalescence period was over.  
He felt honour bound, since his year's sentence had not expired, to refrain from political work, but he was free to devote himself to the Harijans. He strongly denied that he had fasted to secure his release.
- September 1.** Issued appeal for observance of Harijan Day on September 24.



**September 3.** Deeply deplored the assassination of the District Magistrate of Midnapore, Bengal.

**September 7.** Released the programme for observance of Harijan Day.

**September 10.** Had confidential talks with Jawaharlal Nehru at Poona.

**September 14.** Announced suspension of Civil Disobedience till August 1934, as a self-imposed restraint which he characterised as a "bitter cup." So long as he was free he would explore the avenues of an honourable settlement. During the entire period till August 1934 he would devote himself to Harijan service.

**September 20.** Paid glowing tribute to Dr. Annie Besant on her death.

**September 21.** Arrived in Ahmedabad to lay the foundation-stone of the building for his Ashram Library.

**September 22.** Left Bombay for Wardha.

**September 24.** Appealed to nation to help victims of Orissa floods.

**October 9.** Sent message to a public gathering exhorting them to redeem the pledge for removal of untouchability given on 24th September.

**October 13.** Announced that his all-India tour for propagating the Harijan cause would commence on 8th November. He would also make collections for Harijans during this tour. His programme would include visits to Harijan quarters. If addresses were presented, they should be a brief description of the conditions of the Harijans in the area.

**October 14.** Thanked all well-wishers, Indian and foreign, through the columns of the *Harijan* for sending him birthday greetings.

**October 24.** In a press interview on V. J. Patel's death said, "His death is a distinct loss to the country at this juncture".

In a letter to H. K. Hales, M.P., stated : "I am dying to co-operate with anybody and certainly with the Government in restoring a peace, that is living and real, not a peace of the grave".

**November 3.** In *Harijan* explained how the fund collected during his tour would be disbursed.

**November 7.** Started his all-India *Harijan* tour.

**November 8.** Was given a warm welcome on arrival at Nagpur. Was presented with two addresses in reply to which he asked the Bhangis to cultivate the habit of cleanliness. Visited Katol and addressed a gathering. At a huge meeting at Chitnis Park declared, "Removal of untouchability is my religion".

**November 9.** Left for Ramtek where he addressed a public meeting and exhorted the trustees of the Ram Temple to throw it open to Harijans. Visited several other contiguous villages.

Before leaving for Ramtek in the morning, replying to a question by pressmen, said, "Swaraj is not a question of receiving or taking. It is a question of evolution".

**November 10 to 16.** Entered Berar after crossing river Wardha. Addressed meetings at Amraoti, Yeotmal and other places.

**November 18.** Reached Akola, visited National school, interviewed Harijans and gave reply to municipal address.

**November 22-23.** Issued a statement at Durg on Berar tour. Addressed public meetings and met Harijans and Sanatanists.

**November 25.** Came to Bilaspur after touring many villages, receiving addresses and collecting funds.

**November 29.** Concluded Chhattisagarh tour.



- December 3.** Reached Katni *via* Damoh, Saugar and other places in the course of which he laid foundation-stone of a temple for Harijans, addressed public meetings and visited Harijan quarters.
- December 4.** Arrived at Jubbalpore and stayed till 6th Dec. Addressed Harijan workers' meetings and public meetings; visited Laxmi Narain Temple thrown open to untouchables.
- December 9.** Arrived at Bhopal after visiting several villages. Addressed public meetings.
- December 10.** Reached Delhi and visited Harijan quarters, Khadi Bhandar, Jamia Millia Islamia and Hindu College. Interviewed Harijan leaders. Spoke on removal of untouchability at a public meeting.
- December 12.** Addressed a public meeting at Alipur, 16 miles from Delhi, and the Central Board of Harijan Sevak Sangh.
- December 14.** Addressed meeting of Harijans at Shraddhananda Basti and a ladies' meeting.  
Left for Bezwada.
- December 16.** On arrival at Bezwada visited Harijan quarters. Later addressed various meetings and visited a temple thrown open to Harijans.
- December 20.** After touring Masulipatam and other places, reached Madras. Replied to address from Madras Corporation and Indian Chambers of Commerce and spoke at opening of All-India Swadeshi Exhibition.
- December 21-22.** Addressed public, labourers' and other meetings in different areas of Madras city and delivered convocation address at Hindi Prachar Sabha. Met Harijan deputation and visited slum areas.
- December 23-30.** Toured Madras, visiting over 50 towns and villages including Guntur, Cocanada, Rajamundry, Vizagapatam, Kaveli, Nellore Sundur, addressing meetings, opening temples for Harijans and making collections.
- December 31.** Arrived at Venkatagiri where he addressed meetings, visited Harijan quarters and replied to addresses.  
On arrival at Tirupati, received addresses from Harijan Sevak Sangh and Harijans. Visited Renigunta and other places.

## 1934

- January 1.** Spent Day of Silence at Cuddapah.
- January 2.** Visited Harijan quarters, attended public meeting. Received addresses from Municipality, District Board and Harijans.
- January 3.** Attended public meeting at Pedavadvadu.  
Visited Tannery and Harijan colony at Guntakal.  
Addressed public meeting and received address from Union Board.  
At Anantpur, attended public meeting and visited Harijan colony.
- January 4.** Left for Mysore State and visited Goribindnur and other places. In Bangalore cantonment addressed ladies' meeting, public meeting and Marwaris' meeting; visited Harijan quarters.
- January 5.** Addressed ladies' meeting, Harijan workers' meeting and public meeting; presented with address by Municipality in Mysore.
- January 7.** Addressed ladies' meeting and public meeting; replied to Municipal address and spoke at Temperance Association meeting in Bangalore.
- January 11.** Addressed public meeting and replied to address from Hindi students at Tellicherry.



Visited Badagara where he addressed a public meeting.

At Calicut unveiled portrait of Madhavan Nair at Town Hall and visited the *Matribhumi* office.

Addressed ladies' meeting. Replied to addresses from Municipality, Malabar Chamber of Commerce, Harijans and others.

Addressed students' meeting.

**January 14.** At Kalapatta opened a Harijan Colony.

At Calicut addressed a public meeting, visited Harijan quarters and attended Harijan workers' meeting.

**January 16.** Left Calicut for Cochin State, visited Trichur and Ramakrishna Gurukul.

**January 17.** At Trichur visited Harijan Colony and addressed public meeting. At Kurakamchery received addresses from Harijans.

At Peruvanam received address from public.

At Alwaye addressed students' meeting.

**January 18.** At Tripunithura and Chalavennur, visited Harijan quarters. Addressed public meeting and replied to addresses from Municipality, students and Hindi Premi Mandal at Ernakulam.

Visited Palluruthy. Received address from Sri Narayana Dharma Paripala Yogam.

Replied to address from Municipality at Cochin.

At Allepey addressed public meeting and replied to addresses from Citizens' and Youngmen's Associations and Hindi Premi Mandal.

**January 19.** At Kottayam addressed public meeting, received address, attended ladies' meeting and workers' meeting. Visited Adoor, Panamana and Changunacherry where he addressed public meeting and opened Anandasram building.

**January 20.** At Quilon addressed public meeting and visited Harijan School.

At Trivandrum addressed public meeting and received addresses from citizens and Hindi Mandal.

**January 21.** At Trivandrum visited Harijan Hostel, and gave a press interview.

At Nagercoil visited Harijan quarters, addressed public meeting and received addresses from Municipality and Harijans.

**January 22.** Reached Cape Comorin.

**January 23.** Interview with members of Self-Respect Party and Harijan workers.

Reached Tinnevely.

**January 24.** Paid a visit to Harijan quarters, addressed public meeting, received address from Municipality at Tinnevely.

At Tuticorin addressed public meeting and received address from Municipality.

**January 25.** Visited Harijan quarters.

At Virudhunagar received address from the public.

**January 26.** At Madura appealed to merchants for Bihar Earthquake relief.

Received addresses from the Chamber of Commerce, Gujaratis, Municipality, students and Harijan workers. Visited Harijan quarters. Spoke at Hindi convocation, public meeting and labourers' meeting.

**February 2.** While at Coonoor issued an appeal to foreign countries on behalf of earthquake stricken people of Bihar.



- February 3.** Visited Harijan quarters, received addresses from public and Adi Dravidas.  
Issued an appeal for Bihar through Reuters. Special cables also sent to Romain Rolland, John Haynes Holmes, C.F. Andrews and Editor of *Indian Opinion*, Natal.
- February 4.** Had interview with representatives of Coimbatore Adi Hindu Association.  
At Ootacamund addressed public meeting, received addresses from public, Harijans and Jains; visited Ramakrishna Ashram and Dakshinamoorti Ashram; declared a washerman's temple open to Harijans.
- February 6.** At Tirupur addressed public meeting, replied to addresses from Municipality and Khadi Association.  
At Coimbatore visited Y.M.C.A.  
Had interview with Harijans, addressed meeting of Gujaratis, received addresses from citizens, District and Taluk Board and Harijan Sevak Sangh.
- February 10.** After touring several other towns and villages reached Trichinopoly. Addressed Harijan workers' meeting.  
Interviewed 'Self-Respectors', Harijans and Sanatanists, received addresses from Taluk Board, ladies and students, addressed public meeting and received addresses from Municipality and District Board.
- February 16.** After touring a number of places reached Chidambaram where he addressed a public meeting and a students' meeting.  
Went by train to Cuddalore where he received addresses from Taluk Board, District Board and a public meeting.
- February 17.** At Pondicherry addressed public meeting and received address from Harijan Sevak Sangh.
- February 18.** At Vellore visited Cheries, spoke at a public meeting, received addresses from the public, Municipal Council, District Board and Harijans.
- February 20.** At Kodambakkam addressed public meeting and a meeting of the Tamil Nad Provincial Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh.
- February 21.** Went to Conjeevaram by train and addressed a public meeting.
- February 22.** Left for Coorg by car from Mysore.
- February 24.** After a tour of many other villages and towns came to Mangalore and addressed ladies' meeting, public meeting and District Board; received Local Board address.
- February 25.** At Mangalore paid a visit to Harijan Cheri, laid foundation of common temple, addressed students' meeting and unveiled Vithalbhai Patel's portrait.
- March 1.** After a tour of 28 other places reached Siddapur, addressed a meeting, opened Subrahmanya temple to Harijans and paid a visit to Harijan Cheri.
- March 2.** At Devanagere paid a visit to Harijan Cheri, attended ladies' meeting, received Municipal and District Board addresses.
- March 4.** At Hubli paid a visit to Harijan quarters and replied to Railwaymen's address and an address at a public meeting.
- March 5.** Reached Belgaum after visiting many other places.
- March 6.** Addressed workers' meeting and public meeting; received Municipal, District Board and Local Board addresses at Belgaum.



- March 8.** Reached Bijapur where he addressed Municipal and District Board meetings and interviewed members, met Sanatanists, paid a visit to Harijan Hostel and attended their conference. Replied to public, Municipal, District Board and Local Board addresses.
- March 9.** Reached Hyderabad where he replied to public address. At Secunderabad attended public meeting. Left for Patna.
- March 11.** At Allahabad, on the way, met ailing Mrs. Motilal Nehru for an hour. Arrived in Patna at night.  
Had talks with Babu Rajendra Prasad. Issued a message saying that though he was in the South while the terrible earthquake overtook Bihar, his heart was with the afflicted people. He had placed himself at the disposal of Rajendra Babu.  
Reached Champaran.
- March 15.** Returned from tour in the affected areas of Sadar and Dhaka Thanas to Motihari. Went round the town of Motihari. Addressed vast crowd in Relief Camp grounds. Received deputation of middle-class people.
- March 16.** At Muzaffarpur addressed a huge gathering of women in the Darbhanga Raj compound. Reached Patna in the evening.
- March 17.** Granted interview to representative of *Searchlight*.
- March 20.** At Patna addressed meeting of Bihar Central Relief Committee at Radhika Sinha Institute Hall. Addressed mammoth meeting of Patna citizens. Replied to address presented on behalf of Patna citizens. In his speech he said the Bihar earthquake was in the nature of a chastisement by God for the sin of untouchability.
- March 23.** Interviewed by United Press.
- March 29.** Started rural tour of Muzaffarpur District. Left Muzaffarpur. Visited Bharthua Chaur and Bidaul.  
Addressed a mammoth gathering.
- March 30.** At Chupra, Sonapur and Dighwara addressed huge crowds. At Sitamarhi addressed workers' meeting, asked the people to forget all distinctions and strive to overcome the devastation.
- March 31.** Had talks with Darbhanga workers, toured round desolated areas. Addressed meeting and replied to District Board address. Emphasised in his speech the urgent need of clearing wells for drinking water.  
At Madhubani addressed public meeting; while he was speaking on 'untouchability' Sanatanists with black flags created trouble at the meeting.
- April 1.** At Patna attended Congress Leaders' Conference after which a *communique* was issued.
- April 2.** At Saharsa addressed a public meeting.
- April 3.** At Bhagalpur addressed a public meeting. In the rush he got his fingers injured.
- April 4.** Greatly shocked by witnessing the scene of havoc at Monghyr and Jamalpur.
- April 5.** Sent a letter to Dr. Ansari on Council Entry, supporting Delhi decision on revival of the Swaraj Party.
- April 6.** Gave an interview to Press describing the havoc caused by the earthquake.
- April 7.** At Patna issued a statement suspending individual Civil Dis-



obedience and asked the workers to devote their time to nation building activities.

**April 8-9.** Mahatmaji and party left Arraria for Purneah. Addressed public meeting at Purneah and received addresses from Municipality and people.

Left for Katihar on way to Assam.

**April 11.** Gandhiji in Assam.

At Rupsi addressed a public meeting and replied to addresses presented.

Visited Sorbhog, Howli, Sorupete.

At Barpeta addressed public meeting, received addresses.

Addressed a ladies' meeting.

**April 12.** At Rangiya held morning prayer meeting.

Visited Rangapada, Goreswar, Tangla, Odalguri. At Tezpur visited Harijan quarters; received public and students' addresses. Left Tezpur for Gauhati.

**April 13.** At Gauhati inaugurated Seva Ashram, visited Leper Asylum and Harijan quarters, gave interview to Harijan leaders, attended workers' meeting; received addresses from Municipality, Local Boards, Charitable Club and Harijans.

**April 14.** At Gauhati addressed ladies' meeting and received addresses. Visited Kholsi and Chhaparmukh and reached Nowgong. At Nowgong granted interview to Sanatanists and Harijans.

Addressed public meeting and received address.

**April 15.** At Golaghat held interview with workers and Abor, Naga and Mikir leaders; attended spinning exhibition and addressed public meeting. Addresses presented by Local Board, Municipality, women, backward classes and Balika Sangha, etc.

Visited Jorhat and Gunakpukhri.

**April 18.** At Jorhat gave interview to Harijan leaders. Private *namghar* opened to Harijans, visited Mucharhat *namghar* and Harijan quarters, Borigram *namghar* opened to all Harijans. Laid foundation of Rohini Kant Hathibarua Memorial Hall, attended ladies' meeting, addressed public meeting, received addresses from Bar Association, Vani Sammelan. At Sibsagar addressed public and ladies' meeting, received addresses from Municipal and Local Board, opened Kaliprasad Chaliha Hall.

**April 19.** Granted interviews at Dibrugarh to workers and Harijans, attended ladies' meeting, Marwadi ladies' meeting, public meeting and received address. Gave his views on Home Member's statement.

**April 20.** At Dibrugarh visited Poor Asylum, Harijan quarters and school. Visited Chhabra. At Tinsukia visited Busties and addressed public meeting. Left Tinsukia by train for Bihar.

**April 22.** Reached Katihar.

Addressed a huge public meeting.

Left for Muzaffarpur; on way addressed gatherings on platforms at Mansi, Khaguria and Samastipur.

**April 23.** At Muzaffarpur opened Gokhalepuri Colony, addressed huge meeting at Rajendra Vyayamasala.

**April 26.** When he alighted at Jasidih railway station some Sanatanists started violent demonstrations and he had a providential escape. Gave a speech at Deoghar after the incident. Reached Gaya at night.

**April 27.** At Gaya received address at a ladies' meeting and addressed a gathering at Hazari Bagh.



- May 1.** Reached Ranchi after a tour of many places of South Bihar.
- May 2.** Sent his recommendations to A.I.C.C. on Council Entry issue.
- May 3.** Interviewed by *Searchlight* representative at Ranchi, visited Harijan quarters, Harijan school; opened Harijan Silpa Vidyalaya, laid foundation-stone of Nirbaran Gandhi Ashram, addressed public meeting and received public and Municipal address.
- May 4.** Addressed mammoth public meeting at Jamshedpur. Started Orissa tour.
- May 5.** At Jharsuguda attended a public meeting. At Sambalpur visited Harijan quarters and Leper Clinic; addressed public meeting.
- May 7.** Reached Puri. Day of Silence.
- May 8.** At Puri attended public meeting, unveiled bust of Pt. Gopabandhu Das. Received public and Tarun Sahitya Samaj addresses. Attended ladies' meeting.
- May 9.** Left Puri for Hari Krishnapur on foot; addressed villages in a meeting at Gopinathpur and other places.
- May 16.** Addressed a mass meeting on the bed of Katjuri River at Cuttack. Examined by Civil Surgeon of Cuttack. Replied to welcome address by villagers.
- May 17.** Left Cuttack for Patna by train. Reached Patna at night.
- May 19.** At Patna moved resolution on Council Entry in the A.I.C.C. Also spoke on suspension of Civil Disobedience Movement.
- May 20.** Left Patna for Byree by rail to resume tour of the interior of Orissa.
- June 1.** Reached Purshottampur and addressed a meeting.
- June 2.** At Jaipur, addressed a meeting and received addresses.
- June 7.** At Bhadrak addressed a meeting. Gave advice to Harijan workers.
- June 8-9.** From Bhadrak he went to Khadagpur, Murkona, Khantapara. At Balasore addressed a meeting. Left Khadagpur for Wardha.
- June 10.** At Wardha engaged himself in Ashram and public work.
- June 14.** Reached Bombay from Wardha. Granted interview to Bombay Provincial Harijan Board and to ladies of Gandhi Seva Sena. Visited Igatpari, Kalyan, Dadar.
- June 15.** At Bombay. Granted interview to Depressed Classes Mission, Mayuvansi, Kshatriya Sabha and Seva Mandir. Addressed ladies' meeting.
- June 16.** At Bombay. Visited Harijan quarters. Interviewed Dr. Ambedkar and friends. Addressed a public meeting.
- June 17.** At Bombay. Addressed Santa Cruz meeting.
- June 19.** At Poona, interview to Harijan servants.
- June 20.** At Poona, interview to Congress constructive workers and States Subjects' Deputation.
- June 21.** Visited Harijan quarters and Nathibhai Women's University. Received addresses and gave replies at Harijans' meeting and students' meeting.
- June 22.** Visited Christ Seva Sangha, interviewed national education workers, laid foundation of Harijan Colony. Received address presented by Naripeth Harijans, visited Anath Vidarthi Griha, opened Depressed Classes Mission Girls' Hostel in Asalya Ashram at Poona.
- June 23.** Visited Maharashtriya Mandal, Khadi Bhandar and Ayurvedic Hospital of Poona. Interviewed Harijan leaders. Addressed women's



meeting. Attended Muslims' meeting in commemoration of the Prophet's birth.

**June 24.** Received address from Poona District Board and gave a reply.

**June 25.** At Poona, on his day of silence, visited Seva Sadan and received Municipal address.

A bomb attempt was made on Gandhiji's life but providentially he escaped. Issued a statement. Left Poona for Bombay.

**June 26.** Left Bombay for Ahmedabad. Collections made at many places on way.

**June 27.** Reached Sabarmati. Granted interview to Harijan Sevak Sangha. Attended ladies' meeting.

**June 28.** Visited Harijan quarters. Granted interviews to district Harijan workers and Gujarat Swadeshi Sangha. Collections made from various places.

**June 29.** Visited Kochrab Harijan Bal Mandal, Dalit Chhatralaya, Kalyan-gram, Anasuyabehn's Bala Griha, Harijan Girls' Hostel, Harijan Boys' Hotel and made collections. Granted interviews to Harijan leaders. Received address and purse in Harijan's meeting.

**June 30.** Visited Sabarmati Ashram.

**July 1.** Attended a conference of the socialists of Gujarat in the Harijan Ashram at Sabarmati. Gave a speech welcoming the formation of a Socialist Party within the Congress.

**July 2.** At Bhavnagar replied to questions at a meeting of youngmen. Laid foundation-stone of houses for Bhangi servants. Addressed a public meeting.

**July 5.** At Ajmer there was a clash between Sanatanists and Reformists while he spoke. In course of a scuffle between the volunteers and Sanatanists, Pandit Lalnath received injuries on his head. Paid a visit to Pandit Lalnath.

**July 6.** Addressed public meeting and received addresses from public. Harijans, Jain Munis and Jain Gurukul at Beawar.

**July 7.** On arrival at Karachi received Municipal address to which he gave a reply.

**July 8.** Gave interviews to Harijan Sevaks. Laid foundation-stone of Indian Merchants' Association building.

**July 10.** Announced decision to fast for seven days commencing from 7th August, following the incident at Ajmer where Pandit Lalnath sustained an injury on the head as a result of clash with volunteers. Replied to questions of Karachi journalists. Gave interview to Harijan leaders and attended students' meeting.

**July 11.** Gave interview to Provincial Harijan Sevak Sangh, visited Harijan Handicraft Institute. Left Karachi for Lahore.

**July 12.** *En route* to Lahore made collections.

**July 13.** At Lahore gave interview to Harijan Sevak deputation and to Sanatan Dharma Pratinidhi Sabha.

Was presented with address at students' meeting and gave his reply.

**July 14.** Received address at women students' meeting, gave interview to Harijan uplift organisations and visited Harijan quarters.

**July 15.** Met Khalsa Deputation. Gave interview to Sanatan Dharma Sabha and Hindu deputation. Spoke at Punjab Harijan Sevak Sangh meeting, visited Harijan quarters. Addressed a public meeting.

**July 17.** Gave advice to Frontier Congress leaders and a message to Lahore



journalists. Attended men and women volunteers' rally, gave interview to Servants of Peoples Society, Frontier workers and Khadi workers. Attended Punjab political workers' meeting, opened Gulab Devi Hospital and unveiled Lala Lajpat Rai's portrait.

Issued a long statement announcing retirement from Congress.

**July 18.** Reached Delhi Station from Lahore.

**July 19.** Reached Calcutta. Issued a statement to Press. Addressed women's meeting at Albert Hall. Met Bengal Congress leaders and was closeted with *Statesman* Editor.

**July 20.** Issued a statement on his formula for resolution of Bengal dispute.

**July 21.** Reception by Corporation of Calcutta and his reply to address.

Laid foundation-stone of the children's wing of Chittaranjan Seva Sadan.

Addressed huge public meeting at Deshabandhu Park.

Replied to questions of students' deputation.

**July 22.** Reached Cawnpore from Calcutta.

Received District Board and Municipal addresses. Addressed public meeting.

**July 24.** Opened Tilak Memorial Hall.

**July 25.** From Cawnpore went to Lucknow. At Lucknow, addressed ladies' meeting, addressed a public meeting and received addresses from Sanatanists and Harijans. Visited Harijan quarters.

**July 26.** On return to Cawnpore, met Congressmen, district Harijan workers and U.P. *khadi* merchants.

Visited Harijan quarters.

Left Cawnpore for Benaras by rail.

**July 28.** Attended Kashi Vidyapith reception. Visited Harijan quarters.

**July 29.** Attended and spoke at Harijan Sevak Sangh Central Board meeting.

**July 31.** Received Harijan students' address. Addressed public meeting and received address from Pundits.

**August 1.** Received addresses from Hindu University students. Attended Harijan meeting and received address from Harijan workers, Achhuto-ddhar Samiti, Rajbansi and Raidas Sabha. Met Congressmen.

**August 2.** Visited Harijan quarters and Kabir Math. Received Kashi Pandit Mandal's address.

Attended women's meeting.

End of Harijan tour announced. Issued a statement.

**August 3.** Arrived at Patna.

Addressed a meeting of Bihar Central Relief Committee.

**August 7.** Returned to Wardha.

Commenced 7 days' fast at 6 a.m. at Wardha Ashram. Addressed Ashramites and gave interview to Press.

**August 13.** Broke one-week fast in the morning.

**August 28.** Sent a telegram to Babu Rajendra Prasad from Wardha regarding Bihar floods.

**September 4.** Issued a statement regarding the report of his retirement from the Indian National Congress.

**September 17.** Issued another comprehensive statement regarding retirement from Congress.



- September 20.** Joint statement issued by Gandhiji and Mr. Aney regarding forthcoming Assembly elections.
- October 2.** Gandhiji's birthday was celebrated throughout India.
- October 15.** Gandhiji issued a statement from Wardha in connection with his proposals for the reorganisation of the Congress.
- October 20.** Arrived in Bombay.
- October 23.** Issued a statement on proposed retirement after Bombay Congress.
- October 26.** In a statement confirmed his retirement from the Congress and bade farewell.  
Congress session held at Bombay; Babu Rajendra Prasad presided. Gandhiji attended.
- October 29.** Resigned from Congress.
- October 31.** On return to Wardha made a statement proposing some constitutional changes in the Congress.
- November 11.** Issued a statement from Wardha inviting workers for Village Industries Association.
- November 21.** Joint Select Parliamentary Committee's Report published.
- December 6.** Congress Working Committee rejected the Report, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan arrested while sitting with Gandhiji at Wardha.
- December 8.** Gandhiji went to Nagpur to see Abhyankar.
- December 12.** Gandhi-Viceroy correspondence released for publication.
- December 15.** All-India Village Industries Association formed at Wardha; Gandhiji made a statement.
- December 29.** Came to Delhi.
- December 30.** Opened Swadeshi Exhibition in Delhi.

## 1935

- January 1.** Gandhiji issued a statement from Delhi on the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee.  
Held discussions with members of Harijan Sevak Sangh.
- January 2.** Laid foundation stone of the Harijan Colony in New Delhi and opened the Harijan Conference at Narela.
- January 3.** Sent condolences on the death of Abhyankar.
- January 4.** In a message to a public meeting in Delhi held to condole the death of Abhyankar paid high tributes to the memory of the deceased.
- January 8.** Received Delhi Socialists' deputation and had talks with them. Discussed labour problems with representatives of Millowners' Association and Shri Gulzarilal Nanda. Advised them to preserve cordial relations between labour and capital in Ahmedabad and evolve a permanent scheme for settlement of disputes.
- January 9.** Met a deputation of Delhi Congress Committee and held a long talk on Village Industries Association.
- January 10.** Unfolded his village uplift programme to press representatives and said that his campaign would be for unpolished rice, hand-ground flour, hand-pressed oil, *gur* production and economic disposal of carcasses. Met Delhi socialists again. Received about one hundred Jain pilgrims from Kathiawar who called on him.
- January 11.** Discussed with G. D. Birla and others the layout of the Harijan Colony to be constructed in Delhi.



- January 12. Visited cattle breeding farm and discussed Harijan uplift work with Shri Birla and others.
- January 15. Had discussion with Babu Rajendra Prasad and Shri C. Rajagopalachari.
- January 16. Met Congress leaders who had come to attend Working Committee meeting.
- January 17. Attended the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party as an invitee.
- January 18. Attended the first meeting of the Congress Assembly Party at Dr. Ansari's place. In his brief remarks referred to Village Industries Association programme.
- January 23. Started his three-day village tour around Delhi accompanied by Kasturba Gandhi, Dr. Zakir Husain, Krishnan Nair, Malkani and others.
- January 27. Addressed a meeting organised under the auspices of All-India Harijan Sangh in Delhi. Spoke at a meeting of Central Assembly members. In his speech he urged removal of untouchability by legislation.
- January 28. Left Delhi with Kasturba Gandhi and party for Wardha to attend the meeting of the All-India Village Industries Association.
- January 29. At a meeting of Congressmen at Nagpur urged industrial education for girls.
- February 1 to 4. Attended meeting of All-India Village Industries Association at Wardha and explained the fundamental objectives of the Association.
- February 11. Addressing the anniversary meeting of Laxminarayan Deosthan referred to the five items of village industries programme.
- February 23. Declaring open the third Khadi Bhandar in Nagpur said that his expectations could only be fulfilled when everyone in Nagpur was clad in *khadi*.
- March 1. Sent message to Jamia Millia Islamia on the occasion of foundation-stone laying by the youngest child in the institution.
- March 3. Despatched a message on the Silver Jubilee celebration of the *Leader* at Allahabad.
- March 10. Held consultations with members of the All-India Spinners' Association at Wardha.
- March 22. Took a vow of silence for four weeks.
- April 4. Issued a statement announcing that the *Harijan* which was being published from Madras would again be issued from Poona.
- April 19. Broke his four weeks' silence. Left for Indore in the evening to preside over All India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.
- April 20. Opened the All Village Industries Exhibition at Indore. Delivered presidential address at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.
- April 23. While at Indore, expressed concern at the news of C. Rajagopalachari's decision to leave the Congress.  
Had an interview with Maharaja Holkar and discussed Harijan uplift and village industries' problems in the State.
- April 24. Arrived in Wardha.
- April 27. Had discussions with C. Rajagopalachari on the latter's retirement from the Congress.
- May 17. Sent telegram to Kamala Nehru that he would see her at Bombay on 22nd.



- May 22.** Accompanied by Kasturba and Ramdas Gandhi, arrived in Bombay to see off Kamala Nehru next day.
- May 31.** Arrived in Ahmedabad after a tour of Borsad District (plague-affected area) *via* Nadiad. At Nadiad opened a girls' school as memorial to late V. J. Patel.  
Had interview with Abdul Ghaffar Khan in Sabarmati Jail.  
Had a discussion with representatives of Mill Owners' Association and Labour Union.  
Explained to Press that he was staying in Wardha as he had facilities for his Ashram and A.I.V.I.A. work there.
- June 6.** Issued a statement on Quetta Earthquake and appealed to people to help the stricken population.
- June 14.** Was refused permission by the Government to visit Quetta.
- June 20.** Issued a statement on Quetta.
- July 25.** Congress Working Committee met at Wardha.  
Gandhiji, in response to an appeal, gave a message on the Italo-Abys-  
sinian War.
- August 26.** Started his experiment of diet with leafy vegetables. Attended A.I.V.I.A. meeting at Wardha and spoke on minimum wages.
- August 29.** Wrote to Shiva Prasad Gupta that he had supported Congress decision for Council Entry although he did not attend the meetings.
- September 8.** Sent a wire to the Viceroy for Jawaharlal Nehru's release in view of Kamala Nehru's illness.
- October 11-13.** Presided over a meeting of the Council of All-India Spinners' Association at Wardha when resolutions were passed for raising the minimum wages for the spinners.
- October 20.** In an interview regarding Dr. Ambedkar's threat to become a convert said that the Caste Hindus and the Harijans had the same religion. He opined that untouchability was on its last legs.
- October 22.** Laid foundation of a little hut at Shegaon for Mirabehn.
- November 10.** Defended Pt. Malaviya and deprecated the efforts of some papers to vilify him.
- November 24.** Attended the Council of Harijan Sevak Sangh meeting at Wardha.
- December 5.** Indisposed at Wardha.
- December 27.** Sent message for Congress Jubilee Brochure on "Satyagraha".

## 1936

- January 9.** Gandhiji took complete rest at Wardha in view of his indisposition. Had his septic teeth removed.
- January 11.** Met Japanese poet Yone Noguchi and had talks with him, from sick-bed.
- Before January 17.** Granted interview to Margaret Sanger, leader of birth control movement, who came to Wardha.
- January 17.** Arrived in Bombay in the afternoon and stayed with Shri Bhulabhai Desai.  
In a message to Bihar Political Conference stated; "Let no one have any anxiety for me. If anyone has anxiety, let him work ten times more than I am doing now".
- January 18.** Had some more teeth extracted.



- January 21.** Sent a cable to the Queen and members of the Royal Family expressing deep regret over the passing away of King George V.  
Left for Ahmedabad for rest and recuperation.
- February 1.** Jawaharlal Nehru was elected President for Lucknow Congress.
- February 13.** Sent message on the occasion of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Congress.
- February 19.** Addressed the students of Gujarat Vidyapith before leaving for Wardha. During his stay at Ahmedabad his condition showed a steady progress towards normal.  
Issued a statement on Dinshaw Wachha's death.
- February 20.** Held discussions with the American Negro delegation led by Dr. Thurman at Bardoli where Gandhiji broke journey *en route* to Wardha.
- February 28.** Sent message of condolence to the Press and to Vijayalakshmi Pandit on hearing of the death of Kamala Nehru.
- February 29.** Resumed writing for the *Harijan*.  
Left Wardha to attend Gandhi Seva Sangh meeting at Savli in Chanda district of C.P.
- March 1-6.** Stayed at Savli for the Gandhi Seva Sangh conference.  
Opened Village Industries Exhibition held on the occasion.  
Addressed members and workers of Gandhi Seva Sangh. Addressed its annual meeting. Replied to various questions put by workers.
- March 7.** Left Wardha for Delhi.
- March 8.** On arrival in Delhi stayed in the Harijan Colony.
- March 17.** Had a meeting with Jawaharlal Nehru regarding office acceptance by the Congress.
- March 21.** Attended a meeting of the Congress Working Committee.  
Wrote several articles in the *Harijan* including one on 'Birth Control.'
- March 25.** Called on Tagore and tried to dissuade him from holding performances to raise funds for the Viswabharati. Held discussions with Bhulabhai Desai.
- March 27.** Met Harijan Sevaks working in Delhi and its neighbourhood and answered their questions.  
Left for Lucknow.
- March 28.** Opened Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition at Lucknow and said that this for the first time brought out concretely the conception of a rural exhibition that he had nursed in his breast for several years.
- March 30.** While taking complete rest at Lucknow said in a statement that he had received no communication from Lord Halifax to meet him. The whole story was a fabrication.
- April 5.** At Allahabad spoke on "Revival of Hindi Language" in his speech at the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan while performing the opening ceremony of Library and Museum.
- April 6.** Visited Harijan Colony site in Allahabad.
- April 7.** Left Allahabad for Lucknow.
- April 12.** At Lucknow attended 49th Session of the Indian National Congress.
- April 13.** Replied to Civic Address presented by Lucknow municipality.
- April 14.** Spoke at the Depressed Classes Conference.
- April 15.** Addressing a public meeting in the Congress Pandal said while Jawaharlal Nehru was leading the country to Purna Swaraj the people should help him by supporting *khadi*.



- April 17. Arrived in Nagpur from Lucknow *en route* to Wardha.
- April 24. At Nagpur addressed Bhartiya Sahitya Parishad and made his first announcement that he intended to go and settle in a village. In his speech he urged banishment of English language.
- April 25. Advocated ban on communal literature at a meeting of the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad.
- April 28. Averted a deadlock through his intervention in the Congress Cabinet meeting held at Wardha.
- April 30. Fixed up his abode in village Segaon, near Wardha. Stayed under the shade of a tree in an improvised hut with wicker walls and thatched roof as his hut was not ready yet.
- May 2. In an article in *Harijan* explained his attitude towards use of contraceptives.
- May 6. Dispelled doubts about the reported statement regarding Nehru's attitude towards *khadi*.
- May 8. Speaking to village workers' training class explained at some length the genesis of the school and dwelt on the ideal of work and life.
- May 9. Arrived in Madras from Wardha on his way to Bangalore for rest. Refused to talk about politics when asked by pressmen.
- May 10. Arrived in Bangalore.
- May 11. Reached Nandi Hills and issued a statement on the sudden death of Dr. Ansari.
- May 13. Discussed with Captain C. Oomen, the medical expert of the Grace Medical Mission, the merits of the homoeopathic system of medicine compared to those of other systems.
- Upto May 31. Stayed at Nandi Hills. Paid flying visits to Chickballapur, Chintamani Kolar, Bowringpet and Kolar Gold Fields where his speeches in Hindi had to be interpreted in Kannada.
- June 1. Arrived in Bangalore.
- June 2. Wrote in *Harijan* an article, "To My Numerous Muslim Friends", on his son Harilal's conversion to Islam.
- June 3. Accompanied by Sardar Patel and Mahadev Desai, paid a visit to Central Industrial Workshop at Bangalore.
- June 10. At Bangalore, addressed a conference of Harijan workers drawn from all parts of South India. Gave an interview to members of Karnataka Sangha. Mourned the death of Abbas Tyabji.
- June 12. Spoke to a meeting of about 100 Hindi workers. Delivered convocation address to students of Dakshin Bharat Hindi Sabha.  
With Kasturba and Mahadev Desai left for Madras *en route* to Wardha.
- June 14. Reached Wardha.
- June 20. Took up residence permanently at Sevagram.
- June 30. Had long discussions with Sardar Patel, Rajagopalachari, Bhulabhai and other members of the Congress Working Committee.
- July 6. Presided over meeting of the executive council of the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad at Wardha.
- July 13. Sent his condolences to Lady Fazli Hussain on the death of her husband.
- July 22. Wrote an article in *Harijan* under the heading "Are we Rivals?" discounting his reported differences with Jawaharlal Nehru on non-violence. ■



- August 2.** Held interview at Segaon with an American visitor, Miss Paula Leder, and V.S. Chen of the Cotton Industry Commission, China.
- August 17.** Sent a wire to President of Ahmedabad Millowners' Association requesting that the notices of reduction of wages of the labourers be withdrawn as the notices were against the principle of arbitration.
- August 25.** Gave interview to a Polish Engineer, Dr. Frydman, and held discussion on the spinning wheel and other subjects.
- September 8.** Stayed in Wardha Hospital for treatment of fever.
- September 12.** Returned to Segaon on being discharged from the Hospital.
- September 19.** Sent his message of welcome to the members of the South African Delegation who had arrived in Bombay.
- September 24.** Agreed to act as an arbitrator in Ahmedabad dispute between the workers and millowners.
- October 3.** Had talks with Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel who had come to see him at Segaon.
- October 5.** "I am not at all conscious of my birthday celebrations. I know them only as birthday celebration of the spinning wheel", said Gandhiji in his message to a national school at Ahmedabad.
- October 10.** Explained the tasks before the Harijan Sevaks in an article in the *Harijan*.
- After October 15.** In a message on Deepavali expressed his agony over the Hindu-Muslim riots in Bombay.
- October 23.** Left Wardha for Benaras.
- October 25.** Opened the Bharat Mata Temple at Benaras with a speech saying that this temple was a place where all could go to show respect to Mother India.  
Presented commemoration volume to Hindi Poet Maithili Sharan Gupta.
- October 27.** Arrived in Delhi. Met Begum Ansari to offer personal condolences on the death of Dr. Ansari.
- October 29.** Came to Rajkot to pay a visit to a cousin who was nearing ninety.
- October 30.** On arrival at Ahmedabad met President of Millowners' Association. Left for Nadiad where the Municipality presented him with an address of welcome.  
Opened a girls' hostel in memory of late Vithalbhai Patel.
- October 31.** At Ahmedabad addressed a huge meeting of mill operatives in the course of which he opposed the principle of class struggle. Presided over the 12th Gujarati Literary Conference.
- November 1.** Presiding over a function at which the M. A. degree was conferred on Mr. Maganlal Desai at Ahmedabad declared, "My views are becoming firmer day by day that the Vidyapith should go to villages and impart education to villagers".
- November 2.** Conferred with representatives of Millowners' Association and Labour Union on the wage-cut question.  
Visited Sabarmati Ashram and discussed problems of untouchability with the inmates.  
Left Ahmedabad for Wardha.
- November 12.** Sent telegram to Dewan of Travancore conveying hearty congratulations to the Maharaja on the proclamation of freedom for Harijans to enter temples.
- Before November 21.** Had two interviews with Dr. John Mott, the evan-



gelist, and discussed questions relating to untouchability, Yeravda Pact, the activities of the missionaries and other topics.

**December 2.** Came especially to Wardha from Segaon to discuss Ahmedabad dispute with representatives of Mill owners' Associations and Labour Union.

**December 6.** Had discussions with C.F. Andrews who saw Gandhiji at Wardha.

**December 20.** Gandhiji arrived in Tilak Nagar for the Congress Session at Faizpur.

**December 21.** Breaking his silence at Tilak Nagar exhorted the Congress volunteers to make Faizpur an ideal village.

**December 22.** Addressing the villagers at Faizpur, who presented him with a purse, said he was happy to come to the village and congratulated them on their record of services.

**December 23.** Held discussions with Mr. M. N. Roy at Tilak Nagar.

**December 25.** Opened the exhibition organised under the auspices of the All-India Village Industries Association at Tilak Nagar.

**December 27.** Addressed a huge gathering at the Exhibition Grounds explaining his conception of Swaraj, as complete economic independence, apart from political freedom.

Addressing the open session of the Congress in the evening after Jawaharlal Nehru's presidential address, asked the Congress to take a vow to hold all future Congress sessions in villages and carry out his programme of spinning, prohibition and removal of untouchability.

**December 29.** In a message to Hindi Conference said that the place of Hindi or Hindustani could never be taken by English.

Left Faizpur for Segaon.

## 1937

**January 6.** Left Wardha for Poona.

**January 9.** Discussed the condition of Indians in Zanzibar with S.A. Vaze, Secretary, Imperial Citizenship Association.

**January 10.** Left Poona for Madras.

**January 11.** Arrived in Madras. Left at night for Trivandrum.

**January 13.** Arrived at Trivandrum. Gave a speech on Temple entry proclamation and anti-untouchability work. Visited and spoke at temples also.

**January 14.** Left Trivandrum for a tour of the interior of South Travancore to visit Harijan centres. The places visited were : Vengnoor, Balarampuram, Neyyattinkara, Thiruvattur, Padmanabhapuram and Nagarcoil.

**January 16.** Left for tour of North and Central Travancore. Places visited were Quilon, Vaikom and others.

**January 22.** Returned to Madras. Left at night for Guntur.

**January 23.** Toured the cyclone affected areas of Guntur. Entrained at Bezwada for Wardha.

**February 27.** Gandhiji watched the meeting of the Congress Working Committee held at Wardha after the General Elections which resulted in victory for the Congress in eight out of India's eleven provinces.

**March 14.** Left Wardha for Delhi.

**March 15.** Arrived at Delhi Harijan Colony. Attended the Congress Working Committee meeting.



- March 19.** In an interview to A.P.I. justified the resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. in Delhi. His role was only to tender advice and assist in drafting, he said.
- March 22.** Left for Wardha accompanied by Sardar Patel and Bhulabhai Desai.
- March 26.** Arrived in Madras and addressed the convocation of the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha.
- March 29.** Paid a visit to the exhibition organized by the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha in Madras.
- March 31.** Arrived in Wardha.
- April 14.** Gandhiji accompanied by Kasturba and Mahadev Desai left for Hubli (Belgaum District) to attend the meeting of Gandhi Seva Sangh.
- April 16—20.** Accompanied by Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Jamnalal Bajaj, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and others, he arrived in Hubli. The Third Gandhi Seva Sangh Conference commenced under the Presidentship of Kishorelal Mashruwala.
- April 21.** Left Hubli at night for Poona *en route* to Wardha.
- April 22.** On being interviewed by the foreign press at Poona said that what he wanted, before Congressmen accepted office, was an assurance which he still held was within the power of the Governors to give. The assurance contemplated non-interference and non-dismissal of the Cabinet. In the afternoon left for Wardha.
- April 25.** Left Wardha for Allahabad to attend the Congress Working Committee Meeting as an invitee. On being asked at Nagpur, said he would not seek interview with the Viceroy. The only party to be invited to resolve the deadlock was the Congress President.
- April 26.** Gandhiji accompanied by Seth Jamanalal Bajaj, Mahadev Desai, Pyarelal, Khare and B.G. Kher arrived in Allahabad.
- April 28.** Gandhiji's draft resolution on the constitutional deadlock as modified was adopted by Congress Working Committee.
- April 30.** Left Allahabad for Wardha.
- May 9.** Left Wardha for Tethal, a sea-side resort, for rest.
- May 18.** In reply to C. Rajagopalachari's letter sent a telegram saying, "No member of Congress Party in Madras has sought permission to accept office".
- June 3.** On being interviewed said he was very anxious that Congress should take office—but only if the Government showed "their willingness to conciliate the Congress". The object of the Congress demand was to test the sincerity of the British Government, he added.
- June 11.** Gandhiji and his party arrived at Wardha and walked to Segaon.
- July 2.** At Segaon had discussion with Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.
- July 4.** Spent the whole day at Segaon in discussion with Jawaharlal Nehru. They were joined by Sardar Patel and Shanker Rao Deo and Bhulabhai Desai.
- July 5.** Addressed Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha.
- July 7.** Attended Working Committee meeting at Wardha which decided that Congressmen might be permitted to accept office where invited. While opening Rashtra Bhasa Adhyapan Mandir at Wardha, stressed the need of high character for Hindi Pracharaks.
- July 14.** The first Congress ministry in India was formed in Central Pro-



vinces. Other Congress ministries in majority provinces were formed in the latter half of the month.

- July 17.** Published an article entitled "Congress Ministries" in which he crossed his self-imposed limit and explained his conception of office acceptance for the benefit of the Congress ministers and legislators.
- July 28.** High blood-pressure; advised rest at Segaon. Sent a personal message to Andaman prisoners to give up hunger strike.
- August 3.** Left for Delhi.
- August 4.** Arrived in Delhi. Had an interview with the Viceroy and discussed the current situation. Left for Wardha.
- August 14.** Attended Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha.
- August 16.** Reported on his meeting with the Viceroy to the Congress Working Committee.
- August 17.** Attended the Working Committee meeting at Wardha when directives to Congress ministries were issued.
- September 2.** At Segaon he granted interview to Ravishanker Shukla, Education Minister of C.P.
- September 4.** Sent a telegram to Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier, to release the Andaman prisoners who had unequivocally denounced terrorism.
- September 9.** At Segaon had talks with Jawaharlal Nehru.
- September 15.** He was informed by Home Secretary, Bengal Government, that all but seven Andaman prisoners had suspended hunger strike. Correspondence released to Press.
- September 16.** Was informed that the remaining seven Andaman prisoners also had given up fast.
- October 16.** Issued from Segaon a statement regarding Nariman case.
- October 17.** Issued a statement on Andaman prisoners who had been brought from the Andamans.
- October 22.** Presided over the Education Conference.
- October 25.** Left for Calcutta to attend Congress Working Committee meeting.
- October 26.** Arrived in Calcutta for Congress Working Committee meeting. Stayed at Shri Sarat Chandra Bose's residence. Met Tagore at his suburban residence and talked about the issues agitating the country.
- October 27.** Met Bengal Ministers Fazlul Huq, Nalini Ranjan Sarkar and Khwaja Nazimuddin.
- October 30.** Met the Andaman prisoners in Alipore Jail with the permission of the Government. Appealed to the prisoners not to resume hunger strike while he was negotiating with the authorities to secure relief for them.  
His blood pressure rose and he was examined by a team of doctors led by Dr. B. C. Roy.
- November 1.** Correspondence regarding Patel—Nariman case published. Mr. K. F. Nariman was censured by the Congress Working Committee following Gandhiji's letter to Jawaharlal Nehru.
- November 3.** Gandhiji's stay in Calcutta was prolonged in view of his health. He was maintaining general improvement.
- November 7.** Discussed with prominent ex-detenus the question of relief to released detenus and political prisoners.
- November 9.** Met Sir John Anderson, Bengal Governor, at Barrackpore



and discussed the question of speeding up release of prisoners held for political offences and relief to released detenus.

**November 11.** Held discussions with N.R. Sarkar, Finance Minister of Bengal, on the release of detenus and Andaman prisoners.

**November 16.** Had another closed-door discussions with Bengal Ministers and officials regarding the future of Bengal political prisoners.

**November 17.** Held talks with Bengal Ministers at Shri Sarat Chandra Bose's residence. Left Calcutta for Kharagpur where he met the detenus in the Hijli detention camp next day.

**November 18.** Following Gandhiji's negotiations, the Bengal Government announced release of 1100 detenus.

**November 21.** After his return to Wardha Gandhiji issued a statement congratulating Bengal Government on their decision regarding the detenus. Continued to stay at Segaon in his Ashram, taking rest, as his health was still not satisfactory.

**December 6.** Left Segaon for Bombay accompanied by Kasturba Gandhi and party.

**December 7.** Arrived in Bombay and stayed at Jamnalal Bajaj's bungalow at Juhu for rest and recuperation of health till the end of the month.

## 1938

**January 5.** Gandhiji held talks with Shri Sarat Chandra Bose at Juhu and settled a plan of action in connection with the issues of release of political prisoners of Bengal.

**January 8.** Returned to Segaon after a month's stay at Juhu.

**January 11.** Made an appeal to Punjab political prisoners to give up threatened hunger-strike.

**January 18.** Held discussions with Lord Lothian for three days at Segaon.

**January 25.** Sent congratulations to Subhas Chandra Bose on his election to Congress Presidentship.

**February 2.** At Segaon discussed with Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and other leaders the problems confronting the Congress on which resolutions were to be drafted for the Haripura session of the Congress. Later in the day had prolonged talks with Subhas Chandra Bose on the general political situation, the programme of work for the next year and the issues that would form the subject matter of deliberations at the Haripura Congress.

**February 3.** Attended Congress Working Committee meeting when important decisions were taken.

**February 6.** Sent letter to Jinnah assuring him of his readiness to consider any reasonable, specific proposal put forward by him.

**February 10.** Inaugurated the Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition at Vithalnagar, Haripura.

**February 11.** In an address to Congress volunteers said : "I believe I can do more service to the Congress by remaining outside Congress and I will work as long as God gives me the strength." Inspected the sanitation and other arrangements for the Haripura Congress.

**February 13.** Met Subhas Chandra Bose in his hut and discussed the Federation issue and Hindu-Muslim question as reflected in the Presi-



- dential address. Opening the Cow Exhibition at Haripura, he stressed the need to solve Bengal and Frontier problems.
- February 15.** Advised resignation of Congress Ministries in Bihar and U.P. if the Governors were not willing to agree to the release of political prisoners.
- February 16.** Issued a statement at Haripura on the Governor-General's interference with the proposal of Bihar Ministers regarding release of political prisoners and urged the Governor-General to retrace his steps. Speaking at the Khadi Exhibition, referred to the resignation of Congress Ministries in Bihar and U.P. and said : "Tomorrow it may be the same with Bombay and the day after with Madras."
- February 18.** In an interview to *Daily Herald* and *The Times* of London said the mischief done in regard to the crisis on the issue of prisoners' release was of British making.
- February 19.** The resolution on the ministerial crisis as drafted by Gandhiji was adopted by the Congress with a direct appeal to the Governor-General to reconsider his unwarranted interference.
- February 20.** Sent another appeal to Punjab political prisoners to give up hunger-strike.
- February 23.** Issued from Segaoon a long statement on the Viceroy's remarks on the ministerial crisis "to assist peaceful solution of the crisis that has suddenly appeared".
- February 24.** In response to his appeal, Punjab political prisoners in Lahore Jail discontinued their hunger-strike.
- March 8.** Had talks at Segaoon with Congress President Subhas Bose on Bengal question.
- March 15.** Left Segaoon for Calcutta.
- March 18.** Held talks with Khwaja Nazimuddin in Calcutta.
- March 19.** Discussed the Bengal situation with Bengal legislators and informed them that the main object of his visit to Calcutta was the release of political prisoners rather than being drawn into local politics. He also said that he would return to Calcutta after attending the meeting of the Gandhi Seva Sangh at Delang.
- March 25.** Opened exhibition at Birboi (Delang) near Puri in connection with Gandhi Seva Sangh Conference. In his speech said as the door of the Jagannath temple was not open to Harijans, it was also closed for him. He was of the opinion that the service of Orissa meant service for the whole of India.  
Addressing the fourth annual meeting of the Seva Sangh, exhorted them to be brave soldiers of non-violence.
- March 30.** Addressed the concluding session of the Gandhi Seva Sangh Conference in spite of weak health.
- April 1.** Returned to Calcutta.
- April 8.** Met detenus who were brought to Presidency Jail from Hijli camp for three hours.
- April 10.** Visited Khadi Pratishthan at Sodepur Ashram.
- April 11.** Had one-hour meeting with 209 political prisoners repatriated from the Andamans to Dum-Dum Special Jail.
- April 12.** Met in Presidency Jail, Miss Bina Das and Miss Ujjala Mazumdar, convicted in two Governor-shooting cases. Had another interview with Khwaja Nazimuddin.



**April 13.** Left for Delhi on an invitation from Lord Linlithgow.

In a statement said his talks on the question of release of prisoners had not been concluded, pending which the agitation on this question should be suspended.

**April 15.** Had an interview with the Viceroy for 90 minutes in Delhi and returned to Segaon.

**April 23.** Issued a statement on his forthcoming interview with Jinnah regarding communal unity.

**April 24.** Attended meeting of All-India Education Board and explained the fundamental principles of Basic education.

**April 28.** Held talks with Jinnah in Bombay for three hours on communal problem.

**April 29.** Left Bombay for tour of the North West Frontier Province.

Held talks with Congress Parliamentary Party sub-committee on Orissa crisis; it was decided that the Congress Ministry would resign if Dain assumed Acting Governorship of the Province.

Issued a statement on Dain's appointment.

Released a statement on Mysore firing and urged the State Government to shed its autocracy.

**May 5.** Addressed a meeting at Edward Mission College at Peshawar.

**May 6.** Addressed a women's meeting at Utmanzai Cantonment.

**May 8.** Received address at Sawali Tehsil, Mardan District,

**May 9.** Concluded his Frontier tour. Addressing a meeting, eulogised the sacrifices made by the people for the cause of freedom.

**May 11.** Returned to Bombay from Frontier tour. Stayed at Juhu.

**May 19.** Gave a draft of Patel-Mirza Pact on Mysore issue.

**May 20.** Had another meeting with Jinnah on communal question.

**May 30.** At Segaon granted interview to M.S. Aney.

**June 15.** Correspondence with Mr. Jinnah for communal settlement published.

**June 22-24.** Had important talks with Congress leaders.

**July 6.** At Segaon had a meeting for two days with delegates of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

**July 22.** Discussed C.P. ministerial crisis following Dr. Khare's resignation as Prime Minister of the Province.

**July 25.** Attended meeting of the Congress Working Committee. Dictated a letter to be sent to Jinnah on the communal issue. Gave advice to the Committee to ask Dr. N.B. Khare to stand down from contesting leadership of C.P. Congress legislature party.

**July 26.** Suggested strong action against Dr. N.B. Khare on his refusal to abide by Congress mandate.

Discussed Bengal question with Subhas Bose and agreed on the policy to be adopted.

**August 18.** Was moved by the agony and loss of life caused by outbreak of cholera in Segaon.

**September 5.** Refuted Dr. Khare's charge that a draft was forced on him for signature.

**September 6.** In reply to Dewan of Travancore, urged him to institute an enquiry into military firing, declare general amnesty and allow free expression of opinion.

**September 20.** Arrived in New Delhi and stayed in Harijan Colony. Met Begum Ansari who was ill.



- September 21.** Addressing members of the Congress Working Committee, urged the creation of a "Non-violent National Militia".
- September 23.** Met in his cottage the Congress Prime Ministers and members of Working Committee discussing measures to purify the Congress with emphasis on truth and non-violence.
- October 3.** His proposals to Bengal Government on release of prisoners were rejected. Correspondence published.
- October 4.** Expressed severe disappointment over the *communique* issued by Bengal Government refusing to fix a time-limit for prisoners' release.
- October 6.** Arrived at Peshawar. Held a prayer meeting at Dr. Khan Sahib's bungalow.
- October 9.** Arrived in Utmanzai with Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and discussed various problems facing N. W. F. P. in terms of non-violence.
- October 15.** On arrival in Peshawar met several deputations.
- October 16.** Reached Noushera from Peshawar and held a meeting with Khudai Khidmatgars.
- October 17.** Issued a statement advising Travancore Congress to suspend Civil Disobedience if forces of violence could not be controlled.
- October 21.** Continued his tour of N. W. F. P., visiting Mardan District.
- October 23.** Replied to an address of welcome at Kohat emphasising the power of non-violence *vis-a-vis* sword or gun.
- October 27.** At Dera Ismail Khan had talks with Lt. Col. A. J. Muirhead, Under-Secretary of State for India.
- October 29.** Addressing a huge public meeting at Tonk declared that his main objection in visiting the Frontier was to understand the Khudai Khidmatgars and give them the message of non-violence.
- October 31.** His correspondence with M. C. Rajah on Madras Temple entry Bill published.
- November 2.** Returned to Peshawar after visiting Red Shirt Centre at Paniala.
- November 9.** Concluding his Frontier tour; left Peshawar for Wardha.
- Before November 15.** Commenting on Munich Pact wrote "The peace Europe gained at Munich is a triumph of violence; it is also its defeat." I suggest that if it is brave, as it is, to die to a man fighting against odds, braver it is still to refuse to fight and yet to refuse to yield to usurpers."
- November 15.** At Segaon had discussions with Travancore State Congress deputation .
- November 16.** Held talks with Sind Premier Allah Bux.
- December 3.** In an article appealed to the Princes to co-operate with the Congress
- December 9.** His reply to the Nazis' charge against him was published in *The Statesman*.
- December 10.** Issued a statement explaining his advice to Travancore State Congress delegation.
- December 13.** Attended Congress Working Committee meetings at Wardha which urged lowering of the exchange ratio to 16 pence per rupee.
- December 23.** Had talks at Segaon with Dr. S. Radhakrishnan on politics and education.
- December 30.** Declared open Magan Sangrahalaya and Udyog Bhavan at Wardha.



1939

- January 1.** Gandhiji left Segaoon for Bardoli by night train.
- January 2.** Arrived at Bardoli.
- January 3.** Sent a message on the opening of class for training of teachers in Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, under Wardha Education Scheme.
- January 4.** Was visibly moved and shed tears on hearing the death of Shaukat Ali.  
Attended meeting of Congress Working Committee and held discussions with Subhas Chandra Bose.
- January 15.** Held talks with the Aga Khan in the presence of Sardar Patel for settlement of Hindu-Muslim question. Met the leaders of the African Delegation.
- January 17.** Had discussions on prohibition in Bombay.
- January 23.** Held discussions with Sardar Patel at Bardoli on Rajkot affairs.
- January 26.** Addressed a conference of agriculturists and Halis of Bardoli Taluka and congratulated them on resolving to abolish Dublas system. Called upon the Bardoli peasants to take to spinning-wheel as "Annappurna".
- January 28.** Wrote in *Harijan*, "The movement for liberty within the States is entering a new stage".
- January 31.** Decided to go to Rajkot to join *satyagraha* as a Kathiawari. Issued a statement on Rajkot and Jaipur affairs and urged the Viceroy to ask the Resident in Rajkot to restore the covenant between the Thakore Saheb and the people and also ask the British Prime Minister of Jaipur to lift the ban.  
Issued statement on Subhas Bose's re-election as Congress President defeating Pattabhi Sitaramayya, saying, "I must confess that from the very beginning I was decidedly against his re-election.....I am glad of his victory. And since I was instrumental in inducing Dr. Pattabhi not to withdraw his name as a candidate, the defeat is more mine than his, and I am nothing, if I do not represent definite principles and policy".
- February 3.** Repeating the charge of organised goondaism, in reply to Government of India's *communique* on Jaipur and Rajkot, appealed to the Viceroy from Segaoon to study the question more deeply and warned the Government against "forging whitewashing *communiques* in the Delhi Secretariat".
- February 4.** In *Harijan*, referring to Subhas Bose's re-election said, "Those who feel uncomfortable in being in the Congress may come out, not in a spirit of ill-will, but with a deliberate purpose of rendering more effective service."
- February 8.** Condemned "barbarous behaviour" of police officer to Jamnalal Bajaj on latter's arrest 50 miles from Jaipur.
- February 13.** Draft proposals embodying Gandhi-Aga Khan formula for communal unity circulated.
- February 21.** Advised Hyderabad State Congress delegation, which met him at Segaoon, to continue suspension of *satyagraha*.
- February 23.** Asked Rajkot *satyagrahis* to show infinite capacity of suffering, informing them that he was in telegraphic correspondence with the State authorities.  
Expressed sorrow on hearing the news of Lord Brabourne's death.



**February 26.** Arrived in Bombay in the morning and left for Rajkot at night.

**February 27.** Had an interview with Khan Saheb Fateh Mahomed and Durbar Virawalla, officials of Rajkot state, at Rajkot. In an interview said he hoped there would be an honourable settlement as a result of his visit.

**February 28.** After visiting prisoners in Rajkot jails met Thakore Saheb at his palace for a talk. Had discussions with Praja Parishad workers at night.

**March 1.** Held conferences with local leaders brought to Gandhiji's residence from Rajkot jails for consultations about the Rajkot constitutional Reforms Committee. Had long talks with Political Agent Gibson and Thakore Saheb. Addressed huge prayer meeting in the evening.

**March 2.** Sent an ultimatum to Rajkot Ruler to the effect that if he did not honour his pledge before 12 noon next day, Gandhiji would start a fast unto death. A copy of the letter to Thakore Saheb was also sent to Gibson, the Resident.

**March 3.** At 12 noon his ultimatum to Rajkot Ruler having expired, he started his fast as contemplated. Thakore Saheb's reply to Mahatmaji received one hour later was stiff and unyielding. Gandhiji described it as "adding fuel to the fire". Received message from Tagore and Rev. C.F. Andrews. Congress President Subhas Bose issued an appeal to observe 5th March as "Rajkot Day" all over India.

**March 6.** F. Pearson, from Rajkot Residency, met him while fasting to deliver personally a document from the Resident containing an important communication from Viceroy in reply to Gandhiji's letter. Gandhi-Viceroy correspondence released, in the course of which it transpired that the Viceroy had suggested that the notification of December 26 last along with Thakore Sahib's letter to Sardar Patel should be referred to the Chief Justice of India for interpretation. The Viceroy also invited Gandhiji to meet him in Delhi.

**March 7.** Gandhiji broke his fast and issued a long statement saying the Viceroy was responsible for the settlement. Following the settlement all the prisoners in jail were released. Expressed regret for his inability to attend Congress session at Tripura hoping that "though another policy may be evolved, there will be no acrimony and there will be no violence in their thoughts, in their words and in their deeds."

**March 8.** Conferred with Praja Parishad leaders for two hours after despatching a letter to the Resident, Western India states, urging withdrawal of emergency regulations and ban on newspapers. At Tripura Congress, negotiations between Congress President Subhas Bose and the leaders who had resigned from the Working Committee failed.

In reply to telegrams from Congress President and Chairman of Reception Committee of Tripura Congress Gandhiji said, "It is impossible to reach there in time. Doctors insist on some days' rest and as soon as they permit I must proceed to Delhi to finish Rajkot work".

**March 10.** Congress session opened at Tripura. As Subhas Bose was too ill to be present, his speech was read out in which it was stressed that the time had come to raise the issue of Swaraj and submit national demands to British Government in the form of an ultimatum.

In the Congress Subjects Committee, resolutions were passed declaring firm adherence to fundamental policies under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, expressing confidence in old Working Committee and request-



ting the President to nominate new Working Committee according to the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi.

**March 11.** Congress President while at Tripura showed signs of developing pneumonia. Refused to go to hospital.

Gandhiji in a telegram to Subhas Bose advised him to conserve health and energy.

**March 13.** At a meeting of the Chamber of Princes the Viceroy stressed the need of reforms in the States.

**March 15.** Gandhiji reached Delhi from Rajkot.

**March 18.** Performed opening ceremony of newly built Lakshmi Narain Temple and the Buddha Vihara in Delhi.

**March 19.** Advised suspension of *satyagraha* at Jaipur.

**March 20.** In a statement warning the Princes and the Paramount Power asked them to read the signs of the times and march with them.

Advised postponement of Travancore *satyagraha*.

**March 23.** In an interview to *New York Times* explained his views on the right way for the Democracies to deal with Hitler.

Left for Allahabad.

Promised a new orientation of Civil Disobedience in the states and explained that he had urged postponement of *satyagraha* to give time to the princes to decide their course of action.

**March 24.** Conferred with Congress leaders at Allahabad.

**March 30.** Engaged in correspondence with Congress President Subhas Bose regarding the deadlock in Congress affairs.

**April 3.** The Chief Justice of India in his verdict on Rajkot affairs upheld Gandhiji's interpretation of arrangement between Thakore Saheb of Rajkot and the people and Sardar Patel.

**April 4.** Had an interview with the Viceroy in Delhi.

In a statement answered Parsi objections to introduction of prohibition in Bombay.

**April 11.** On arrival at Rajkot wrote a letter to Thakore Saheb on the composition of the Reforms Committee.

**April 15.** After failure of negotiations with the Muslims, he sent a letter to Thakore Saheb submitting a list of seven names for the Reforms Committee.

Hostile demonstrations held at Rajkot against Gandhiji by Girasiyar and Muslims.

**April 18.** Fresh hitch arose over formation of Rajkot Reforms Committee.

**April 22.** Had a prolonged talk with Durbar Virawalla on the subject of his reported offer for solution of Rajkot impasse.

**April 24.** Left Rajkot for Calcutta via Bombay with the remarks, "Ahimsa accrues only to the courageous. And so I have left empty-handed, with body shattered and hope cremated". In a letter to Virawalla declined to have the Rajkot Reforms Committee elected on the basis suggested by Mr. Virawalla. Thus the settlement efforts failed.

**April 27.** Arrived in Calcutta and stayed with Satish Chandra Das Gupta at Khadi Pratsihthan.

Held talks with Subhas Chandra Bose.

Admitted to *The Statesman* reporter that he had advised Sardar Patel not to come to Calcutta and said he had not been able to find any solution for the Congress deadlock.



- April 28.** Held further talks with Subhas Chandra Bose and other Congress leaders which proved to be inconclusive.
- April 29.** Attempts at settlement of Congress deadlock having failed, Gandhiji wrote a letter to Subhas Chandra Bose expressing his inability to name the members of the Working Committee in terms of the Pant resolution, following which Subhas Bose resigned from Congress presidentship. Babu Rajendra Prasad was elected new President.
- May 1.** Left for Brindaban in Champaran District of Bihar to attend Gandhi Seva Sangh Conference.
- May 3.** At Brindaban opened an exhibition of village industries and handicrafts.
- May 5.** The correspondence which passed between Mahatma Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose on the question of formation of the Congress Working Committee and the political issues arising out of it was released for publication.
- May 6.** Attended fourth sitting of Gandhi Seva Sangh Conference and answered question by members. Urged workers of the Sangh to take up rural reconstruction.
- May 7.** Advised self-purification to members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh. At a ladies' meeting stressed the need of a University for women in Bihar. Addressing a public meeting asked the people to take to *charkha*.
- May 9.** Arrived in Benaras and met Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
- May 10.** Had talks with Pandit Malaviya again before leaving for Bombay *en route* to Rajkot.
- May 12.** Arrived again in Rajkot. Discussed future line of action with workers.  
In an interview expressed grief at the South African Government's segregation policy against Indians.
- May 17.** Renounced the advantages gained by Rajkot Award and appealed to the Prince to concede the people's wishes.
- May 24.** Issued from Rajkot a statement on the segregation legislation in South Africa.
- May 25.** Entertained by Thakore Saheb of Rajkot. Conferred with Praja Parishad workers.
- June 1.** Left Rajkot for Bombay.
- June 4.** Issued a statement on Travancore embodying new plans.
- June 7.** Left Bombay for Segaon.
- June 13.** Met Assistant Inspectors from Central Provinces undergoing training under Wardha Basic Scheme at Segaon.
- June 27.** Left Segaon for Bombay.
- July 5.** Left for N. W. F. P. tour.
- July 19.** Had discussions with Sheikh Abdullah, President of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference.
- July 21.** Cancelled his projected Kashmir programme.
- July 25.** Held discussions with the Governor of N. W. F. P. and met Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier.
- July 26.** Left for Delhi *en route* to Wardha.  
Addressed an open letter to Hitler appealing to him to desist from plunging the world into war.
- July 29.** Following Gandhiji's advice passive resistance in the Transvaal was suspended.



**August 1.** Total prohibition was enforced in Bombay by Congress Government.

**August 2.** Condemned hunger-strike by Bengal political prisoners.

**August 9-10.** Addressed a meeting of the Congress Working Committee on the question of Congress attitude in event of war in Europe. On the advice of Gandhiji the Working Committee declared, "In this world crisis the sympathies of the Working Committee are entirely with the people who stand for democracy and freedom and the Congress has repeatedly condemned fascist aggression in Europe.....The Congress has further enunciated its Policy in the event of war and declared its determination to oppose all attempts to impose a war on India."

The Working Committee requested provincial Governments not to assist war preparations of British Government.

**August 18.** Discussed with Babu Rajendra Prasad at Segaon the question of holding next Congress session.

**August 30.** Sent his good wishes and blessings to Poland.

**September 3.** Britain and France declared War against Germany. Gandhiji was invited by Viceroy to meet him at Simla soon after.

**September 4.** Had an interview with Viceroy at Simla. On return from Viceroy's House said: "I have returned empty-handed from the Viceregal Lodge and without any understanding. If there is to be any understanding, it would be between the Congress and the Government....I told His Excellency that my own sympathies were with England".

**September 5.** Issued a statement expressing sympathy with the British cause.

Left for Delhi.

**September 7.** Returned to Wardha.

**September 8-14.** Attended Working Committee meetings held at Wardha which decided that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people and co-operation must be between equals by mutual consent for a cause which both consider to be worthy. Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad and Sardar Patel were members of a Sub-Committee to deal with the situation.

**September 15.** Commenting on the situation, Gandhiji said in a statement: "I was sorry to find myself alone in thinking that whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally...."

**September 16.** Wrote in *Harijan* that he had come to the conclusion that Hitler was responsible for the War.

**September 26.** Had another interview with Viceroy at Simla in the course of which he pressed for an unambiguous declaration of absolute freedom for India after the war and an immediate share of power at the Centre.

**September 28.** Wrote from Segaon in reply to Lords debate: "As a friend of the British I appeal to English statesmen that they will forget the old language of imperialists and open a new chapter".

**October 2.** His 70th birthday was celebrated all over India on which occasion a volume entitled "Mahatma Gandhi", was presented to him by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

**October 3.** Held another round of talks with Viceroy in Delhi.

**October 5.** Met the Viceroy again and thereafter left Delhi for Segaon.

**October 6.** Attended Working Committee meeting at Wardha.

**October 9.** Attended A. I. C. C. meeting at Wardha.

**October 12.** Had talks with Congress leaders at Segaon.



- October 13.** Described A. I. C. C. resolution as moderate and wise and urged the Europeans in India to "range themselves alongside the Congress".
- October 17.** Viceroy made his statement in which he said it was not possible as urged by Gandhiji in his talks, at that early stage of the war, to define British war aims in more specific terms than he had already done.
- October 18.** Gandhiji condemned Viceroy's statement of October 17 adding, "Congress will have to go to wilderness again before it becomes strong and pure enough to reach its objective".
- October 22.** Attended Congress Working Committee meeting which resolved that it would give no support to Great Britain in the war and called upon Congress ministries to resign.
- October 23.** In an interview at Wardha stated, "How I wish the studied moderation of the Working Committee's resolution will be recognised and appreciated by all concerned."  
Attended meeting of Gandhi Seva Sangh. In a message to *Daily Herald* of London stated the Congress had left the door "open to Britain to amend her mistake".
- October 27.** Appreciated conciliatory tone of Sir Samuel Hoare's statement but asked for proof "that Britain had shed her imperialistic ambitions even before India is declared independent....The Congress decision is an imperative call of duty".
- October 28.** Writing in *Harijan* stated "that the control and management of Civil Disobedience has been left in my hands".
- October 29.** Viceroy issued invitation to leaders of Congress and the Muslim League to meet him in Delhi.
- October 30.** Madras Congress Ministry's resignation accepted following resignations of U. P. and other Congress ministries.
- November 1.** Attended a conference convend by the Viceroy in which Congress and Muslim League leaders were present.
- November 2.** Prolonged his stay in Delhi. Performed opening ceremony of Prarthana Samaj in the Harijan Colony.  
Held talks with Mr. Jinnah on the issue of a joint proposal to be placed before the Viceroy.
- November 4.** Had an interview with the Viceroy in the morning. In an article in *Harijan* entitled "The Next Step" said, "I have never felt the weight of responsibility as heavily as I do today in connexion with the present impasse....."  
Left for Segaon.  
Congress reply to Viceroy sent.
- November 5.** Viceroy announced failure of negotiations.
- November 6.** At Nagpur Gandhiji stated, "I will resist Civil Disobedience unless I find the country prepared for that".
- November 8.** In a statement at Wardha stated that there could be no question of civil resistance so long as the Viceroy was exploring the possibilities of a settlement.
- November 11.** Expressed hope, in an article, that Nehru-Jinnah talks would result in lasting solution of the communal tangle.
- November 19.** Attended working Committee meeting at Allahabad and laid the foundation stone of Kamala Nehru Hospital.
- November 22.** Addressed Working Committee members and explained the



implications of his resolution on the political situation in India. Urged further exploration of ways for an honourable settlement.

**November 23.** Addressed a meeting of Congress workers at Anand Bhavan. Left for Segaoon.

**November 25.** Writing in the *Harijan* stated, "The only way out is a Constituent Assembly."

**December 1.** Discussed South African situation with C.F. Andrews.

**December 9.** Appealed to Jinnah and Moslems to desist from observing "Day of Deliverance" from Congress rule in view of unity talks.

**December 18.** Attended Congress Working Committee which met at Wardha for five days.

**December 22.** Reiterating the faith of the Congress in a Constituent Assembly as advised by Gandhiji, the Working Committee passed a resolution characterising British Government raising the communal question as "reluctance to part with power".

**December 23.** In the *Harijan* Gandhiji wrote, "So long as I have a share in the attainment of independence, it will be through non-violent means and therefore, a result of honourable treaty or settlement with Britain."

**December 27.** Addressing Nagpur Congress workers said at Wardha, "we should resort to Civil Disobedience when we are sufficiently strong".

**December 30.** Declared in answer to a question, "In a free India every religion should prosper on terms of equality unlike what is happening today."

Writing in the *Harijan* stated, "If Congressmen honestly had lived up to constructive programme of 1920, there would be Purna Swaraj today".

## 1940

**January 12.** Held talks with Rajendra Prasad at Segaoon.

**January 19.** Attended Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha.

**January 20.** In an article in *Harijan* said, "I am not spoiling for a fight, I am trying to avoid it. I wholly endorse Subhas Chandra Bose's charge that I am eager to have a compromise with Britain, if it can be had with honour."

**January 21.** Was invested with full authority by the Congress Working Committee to negotiate with the Viceroy.

**January.** Exchanged correspondence with Jinnah on communal issue and remarked, "It dashes to the ground all hopes of unity".

**February 3.** Left for Delhi accompanied by Mahadev Desai.

**February 5.** Had an interview with the Viceroy. Remarked, "I see no prospect of peaceful and honourable settlement".

**February 6.** In a statement stated the vital difference between the Congress demand and the Viceroy's offer; the Viceroy's offer contemplated final determination of India's destiny by the British Government whereas the Congress contemplated just the contrary.

**February 7.** Returned to Segaoon. Had talks with G. L. Nanda.

**February 15.** Left for Shantiniketan.

**February 16.** Election of Maulana Azad as Congress President for Ramgarh session announced.

**February 17.** In an article in *The Harijan* stated, "if the view that what Lord Zetland has said represents the considered view of the British Govern-



ment, then there is no meeting ground between the nationalists and the imperialists and it means a declaration of war on the nationalists."

**February 18.** Had a busy day on arrival at Shantiniketan. Held a lengthy discussion with Tagore after attending several functions.

**February 19.** Arrived in Calcutta. Paid a visit to C. F. Andrews lying ill in hospital. Left for Malikanda to attend Gandhi Seva Sangh conference.

**February 21.** Opened a Village Industries Exhibition. Addressing Gandhi Seva Sangh conference, advised the members to "forget politics."

**February 24.** Addressed a conference of Bengal constructive workers.

**February 25.** Left Malikanda after addressing a public meeting.

**February 27.** Had a meeting with Sarat Chandra Bose. Left for Patna.

**February 29.** Attended Congress Working Committee meeting at Patna. Gave particulars of his talks with Viceroy.

**March 1.** The Congress Working Committee declared in a resolution its determination to start Civil Disobedience as soon as the organisation was found fit enough for the purpose.

**March 4-11.** Gandhiji rested in Segaon.

**March 11.** Announced in the *Harijan* that the name Segaon had been officially changed into Sevagram.

**March 12.** Left to attend Ramgarh Congress session.

**March 14.** Inaugurated the Khadi and Village Industries Association at Ramgarh.

**March 15.** Attended Working Committee meeting.

**March 18.** "I have accepted the need for the fight, but I shall exercise restraint. Just as a General wants to prepare for a fight before he gives order to his soldiers, I shall do the same," Gandhiji said, while speaking on the resolution on the political crisis in India at the Subjects Committee of the Congress.

**March 20.** In the open session of Ramgarh Congress declared that the country was not ready for a struggle and none but those who plied the *Charkha* would form his army.

**March 22.** Arrived at Sevagram.

**March 29.** Held discussions on political crisis with Rajaji who came to Sevagram.

**March 31.** Mr. Jinnah made his proposal asking the Hindus and Sikhs to consider Muslim League Scheme of partition of India.

**April 5.** C. F. Andrews died in a Calcutta Nursing Home. Gandhiji in his tribute to Andrews said, "I have not known a better man or a better Christian than C. F. Andrews. India bestowed on him the title of Dinabandhu".

**April 16.** Writing to H. G. Wells on his published articles remarked, "You will permit me to say you are on the wrong track. I feel sure I can draw up a better charter of rights than you have drawn up."

Attended meeting of Congress Working Committee held at Wardha.

**April 17.** Held long discussion with Jawaharlal Nehru at Sevagram.

**April 19.** Gandhiji said in an interview that a Constituent Assembly might vote for Dominion Status or even something less than that. The Congress objection was to imperialist Britain and not to a democratic British Commonwealth.

**April 20.** Had prolonged talks with Congress President Maulana Azad.

**May 16.** At Sevagram received Red Shirts accompanied by Ali Bahadur Khan and others.



- May 25.** Wrote in *Harijan* that he would do nothing wilfully to embarrass Britain.
- June 8.** Advised the people, in *Harijan*, not to get panicky and said they should go on with their work in the usual way, and not withdraw deposits from banks.
- June 17-20.** At Wardha attended Working Committee meetings which divested Gandhiji of responsibility for the programme and left the Congress free to take political decisions without thinking in terms of violence or non-violence.
- June 18.** Shri Subhas Bose at the Forward Bloc conference in Nagpur suggested establishment of a Provisional National Government in India.
- June 21.** Gandhiji attended Gandhi Seva Sangh meeting held at Wardha.
- June 27.** Left for Simla on being invited by the Viceroy to meet him.
- June 29.** Had a prolonged interview with the Viceroy at Simla. Discussing in the *Harijan* his break with the Congress on the question of non-violence, said he could no longer guide the Congress when fundamental differences were discovered.
- July 2.** Issued his appeal "To Every Briton" to accept method of non-violence.
- July 3.** Attended Congress Working Committee meeting held in Delhi and explained to the Committee what transpired at his interview with the Viceroy in Simla.
- July 21.** Writing in *Harijan* he stated that as he was no longer in the Congress, he might not offer Civil Disobedience in its name but he was certainly free to offer civil resistance in his individual capacity whenever it might be necessary.
- July 27.** Did not attend A. I. C. C. meeting held at Poona which confirmed the resolutions passed at Wardha and Delhi.
- August 8.** The Viceroy announced policy in regard to India's Constitutional development.
- August 13.** In a message to the *News Chronicle*, London, Gandhiji said that the Viceroy's declaration was deeply distressing. It widened the gulf between India, as represented by the Congress, and Britain.
- August 18-23.** Attended Congress Working Committee meetings at Wardha. The Congress pledged itself to act under Gandhiji's command again and requested him to guide the Congress. Gandhiji expounded a programme of constructive work the fulfilment of which would be the non-violent attainment of *swaraj*.
- September 11.** Wrote a letter to the Viceroy drawing his attention to the remarks of U. P. Governor Sir Maurice Hallet.
- September 12.** Arrived in Bombay.
- September 15.** Addressing A. I. C. C. meeting said, "There is no question of mass civil disobedience. There may be--I am still not sure--individual civil disobedience. I am still searching for something. So far I have not been able to find anything."
- September 18.** Wrote to the Viceroy seeking an interview to discuss the situation covered by the recent resolution of the All-India Congress Committee.
- September 19.** In Bombay said in an interview to a London newspaper, "I do not want England to be defeated but freedom for propagating non-violence as a substitute is more relevant for war" and freedom of speech and action was the breath of democratic life.



Attended meeting of Cottage Industries sub-committee of the National Planning Committee.

**September 25.** Left for Simla accompanied by Shri Mahadev Desai and Shri Pyarelal, to meet the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow.

**September 27.** The interview between Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy took place at Simla from 2-45 P. M. to 6-15 P. M. Gandhiji decided to stay on at Simla for a few days.

**September 30.** Gandhiji had a second interview with the Viceroy.

The Viceroy wrote a letter to Gandhiji summarizing the position that emerged after the interviews. Gandhiji who left Simla said in an interview "It is unfortunate that we have not been able to arrive at an agreement on the single issue of freedom of speech."

**October 1.** Replying to a question by a press representative prior to his departure for Wardha from New Delhi said, "The next step is likely to be taken at Wardha when the Working Committee meets."

**October 3.** Writing for the *Harijan* from Sevagram Gandhiji in his notes commented: "Had the Congress proposal been accepted, such aid as Britain would have got from India would have been an asset of inestimable value. The non-violent party would have played an effective part for honourable peace when the proper time for it was in sight, as it must be some day."

**October 4.** In the course of a statement from Wardha said, "It is my firm conviction that the British statesmen have failed to do the right thing when it was easy to do it."

**October 5.** In a statement at Wardha stressed that the immediate issue was not independence. The immediate issue was the right to exist, i.e., right of self-expression which, broadly put, meant free speech.

**October 11-13.** Decided to launch campaign of individual *satyagraha* with the approval of the Congress Working Committee which met at Wardha.

**October 15.** Explained in a statement his scheme of individual *satyagraha*.

**October 17.** Selected Vinoba Bhave as the first *satyagrahi* who then inaugurated the movement of moral protest by delivering antiwar speech before a rural audience, seven miles from Wardha.

**October 18.** Gandhiji conveyed to workers his message, through A. I. T.U. C. President, not to resort to strikes by way of participation in *satyagraha* campaign without his express order. Continued to direct the movement from Sevagram.

**October 21.** Vinoba Bhave arrested. Selected *satyagrahis* daily went out shouting anti-war slogans and courted arrest.

**October 24.** Gandhiji suspended publication of *Harijan*, *Harijanbandhu* and *Harijan Sevak* following Government's instructions to editors. Entered into correspondence with Viceroy on this issue.

**October 30.** At Sevagram held discussions with Jawaharlal Nehru.

**October 31.** Jawaharlal Nehru arrested and sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

**November 4.** Gandhiji thought of resoring to fast and intimated decision to the Viceroy.

**November 7.** Issued a statement explaining suspension of his proposed fast.

**November 9.** Attended meeting of All-India Charkha Sangh.

**November 14.** In a message to students asked them not to resort to strike and invited a representative deputation to meet him.

**November 15.** Had an interview with Ceylonese Minister Senanayake.



- November 19.** Had a meeting with Arthur Moore, Editor of the *Statesman*, who arrived at Sevagram.
- November 21.** Issued a comprehensive statement embodying his instructions for the guidance of *satyagrahis*. They were not to support Nazism or Fascism in any way while addressing meetings, but to oppose all war.
- November 23.** Met a Chinese delegation.
- November 26.** In a message said that he expected "great things from Bengal" on the eve of their launching individual *satyagraha* campaign.  
Met Tai Chi Tao of the Chinese National Government who came to Sevagram.
- December 1.** Held a prolonged discussion with Maulana Azad regarding *satyagraha* movement.
- December 7.** Advised organisers to stop Pentangular Cricket Tournament in Bombay as the time was not suitable for it.
- December 15.** Approved list of *satyagrahis* submitted by Lala Dunichand who met him at Sevagram and issued strict instructions to be followed.
- December 16.** Directed, in reply to a political worker in Jind, that there was to be no civil disobedience, individual or mass, in the States.
- December 17.** Suspended individual *satyagraha* movement from 25th December to 4th January, 1941, as a gesture for Christmas.
- December 21.** Was laid up with high blood pressure at Sevagram.

### 1941

- January 3.** Congress President Maulana Azad arrested. The Individual Civil Disobedience movement continued and reached the farthest corners of the country.
- January 9.** Gandhiji, in a letter to a prominent member of the A. I. Forward Bloc, stressed that Individual Civil Disobedience movement had undoubtedly been on the issue of freedom of speech but at the end of every issue there was the issue of India's independence.
- January 11.** Sent from Wardha a message for "Independence Day" stating, "There is to be no Civil Disobedience that day. For we must not invite disturbance of our meetings, processions and *prabhat pheris* on that day (January 26)". Issued a new Independence Pledge exhorting the people to keep ready for struggle and sacrifice.
- January 17.** Blessed Vinoba Bhave who offered *satyagraha* again.
- January 20.** Replied to Hindu Mahasabha declining Congress participation in the Central Government reorganisation so long as Congress demands remained unconceded.
- January 26.** In a letter to M. L. Shah, General Secretary of All-India Students' Federation, observed: "Students cannot afford to have party politics....their business is to assimilate the truth of all and reject the balance."
- January 27.** Shri Subhas Chandra Bose was found missing from his house in Elgin Road, Calcutta where he was interned.
- January 30.** Issued his advice to newspaper editors on publication of news regarding the movement.
- February 3.** Assured by Newspaper Editors' Conference that they would welcome reappearance of the *Harijan*.
- February 5.** In the course of a reply to E. A. Mack, District Judge of Nellore, regarding Red Cross Organisation, observed: "I would not



- regard it a breach of discipline for a Congressman to subscribe to the Red Cross or take necessary training."
- February 9.** Wrote to a Delhi Congressman that every *satyagrahi* would be his own leader.
- February 14.** While in Bombay made a declaration in the *Times of India* that he did not wish well to India at the expense of Britain, in the same way as he did not wish well to Britain at the expense of Germany. He reiterated his faith in non-violence in meeting even Hitler's violence.
- February 22.** Gandhi-Bose correspondence was released which showed that he had rejected Subhas Bose's offer to place his services at the disposal of Gandhiji for *satyagraha* movement on the ground of "vital and fundamental differences".
- February 23.** Wrote a foreword to *Status of Indian Princes* written by Pyarelal and published from Navajivan Press.
- February 24.** Replying to *satyagrahis* in Calcutta regarding their proposed march to Delhi said, "It would not be wrong if non-arrested *satyagrahis* tour the whole district for a month or two and then proceed to Delhi. Some may tour in the district and some may go to Delhi."
- February 28.** Performed the opening ceremony of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital in Allahabad. Visited Harijan Ashram. Interviewed at Allahabad, observed that those *satyagrahis* who were let off with fines should continue *satyagraha* till they were jailed without giving notice to the Government.
- March 6.** Issued a statement after return to Wardha observing that it was a gross misrepresentation to suggest that the Congress was out for securing terms for itself. Freedom of speech was meant for all, even as independence would be for all.
- March 10.** Issued instructions to Andhra and Tamil Nadu Congress not to bring persons from districts for offering *satyagraha* in the city of Madras. Approved 60 names of *satyagrahis* from Berar.
- March 11.** Advised Shibbanlal Saxena, fasting in Benaras Jail, to give up his hunger-strike.
- March 18.** Issued an appeal for rupees five lakhs to be collected before April 5 for Andrews Memorial.
- March 23.** "Pakistan Day" was observed by Muslims.
- March 30.** Jinnah clarified his conception of Pakistan in a speech at Cawnpore.
- April 11.** Jinnah forwarded Muslim League resolution on Pakistan to the Viceroy.
- April 21.** Gandhiji refused to withdraw Civil Disobedience movement. In an exclusive interview to The *Times of India* in Bombay, he remarked: "If Britain will only be true to India, whether the Congress withdraw the struggle or not, everything can be settled satisfactorily".
- April 25.** Commenting on Amery's statement in Commons said at Wardha: "Britain's distress has evidently left Mr. Amery cold and untouched. The callousness makes me more than ever confirmed in my opinion that Congress must abide by its policy of non-violence."
- May 4.** Gandhiji's correspondence with Sir T. B. Saprú in the latter's efforts to bring Gandhiji and Jinnah together was released. It showed that the efforts failed because Jinnah insisted on meeting Gandhiji as a representative of the Hindus. Gandhiji refused to accept the condition.
- May 6.** Gandhiji directed that Sind should be considered outside the *satya-*



*graha* zone and the Congressmen there should continue their normal activities.

In statement on communal riots remarked, "Congress influence seems to have been practically unfelt during the dark days".

**May 7.** Felicitated Ravindranath Tagore on 80th birthday.

Issued a statement on Bihar riots.

**May 23.** In course of a letter to Secretary of Gujarat Provincial Congress, said: "That people should flee for their lives for fear of *goondas* should be intolerable. They ought to possess capacity to resist *goondashahi*, violently or non-violently".

**June 25.** Permitted K. M. Munshi, former Home Minister of Bombay, to resign from the Congress.

**July 6.** Welcomed Mian Iftikhar-u-ddin's unity move in the Punjab and hoped he would receive the closest co-operation of Congressmen.

Explained in a statement the delay in approving lists of *satyagrahis* from provinces and remarked that the movement was not designed to embarrass the Authorities. He expected the struggle to continue for not less than five years and, therefore, there was no hurry to fill the jails.

**July 18.** Gave an interview to Indian Christian leaders who discussed with him the question of minorities.

**July 22.** Commenting on expansion of Viceroy's Executive Council, said at Wardha : "The announcement does not affect the stand taken by the Congress nor does it meet the Congress demand".

**July 26.** Writing in the first issue of *Khadi Jagat* said, "This bloody war indicates that the world will ultimately be destroyed by machinery, and it is only handicrafts that will sustain or save the world".

**August 3.** Opening the Khadi Vidyalaya at Wardha, Gandhiji declared : "We want to achieve the welfare of the world by truth and non-violence".

**August 4.** Contradicting a report in the American magazine *Look*, remarked that Congress would not be satisfied with anything less than complete independence.

**August 7.** Rabindranath Tagore died. Gandhiji said : "In the death of Rabindranath Tagore we have lost not only the greatest poet of the age but an ardent nationalist who was also a humanitarian. In Santiniketan and Sriniketan he has left a legacy to the whole nation, indeed to the whole world".

**August 24.** Referring to Indo-Burma Agreement remarked that it was an undeserved slur both on India and Burma and he refused to believe that it was made in response to a vital cry from the Burmese nation. He urged that the agreement be undone.

**September 13.** Clarified the Congress policy with regard to business transactions with Government and justified the supply of blankets by branches of the All-India Spinners Association for the use of soldiers.

**October 21.** Urged strongly that the Deoli Camp be disbanded and the prisoners be sent nearer their homes.

**October 30.** While issuing from Wardha a long statement on *satyagraha* said : "I have been in charge of issuing statements for the guidance of *satyagrahis*. The deciding reason has been to have them self-guided where they are not guided by local leaders....I had no doubt as to the correctness of the Bombay resolution and have none about the correctness of the steps taken hitherto".



Commenting on Deoli detenus' hunger-strike said he was generally averse to hunger-strikes by prisoners but "cannot help recognising that at times they have no honourable course for redress of grievances.... If the demands are just, justice should be expedited in order to alleviate avoidable suffering".

Reviewing the *satyagraha* situation, rejected the plea for mass action which at that stage might be an invitation to civil war, as communal unity was lacking. Released *satyagrahis* might go for action again in another week's time, he added.

**November 11.** Expressed his objection to Indo-Ceylon Pact in the same manner as to the Burma Pact.

**November 14.** Made an appeal to the Government to grant the demands of the detenus undergoing fast in Deoli Camp.

**November 15.** Advised Satyamurthi to publish their correspondence in full. The correspondence related to parliamentary programme and non-violence.

**November 21.** Expressed concern over continuance of hunger-strike by Deoli detenus. Suggested formation of a tribunal to redress their grievances and their repatriation to places nearer their homes.

**December 3.** Government of India announced decision to release all *satyagrahis* prisoners in India including Maulana Azad and Jawaharlal Nehru. The Government *communique* expressed confidence of the determination of all responsible opinion in India to support the war effort until victory was secured.

**December 4.** In an interview at Wardha, said the Government's decision to release prisoners, "cannot evoke a single responsive or appreciative cord in me".

**December 7.** In a statement from Wardha said : "The Working Committee or A.I.C.C. members must not offer *satyagraha* nor should those interested in revising Bombay decision. Apart from these, Civil Disobedience should continue".

Japan entered war with attack on Pearl Harbour.

**December 8.** Gandhiji stayed for a month from this date at Bardoli in Sardar Patel's Ashram.

**December 23.** Attended Congress Working Committee meeting.

**December 27.** Gandhiji issued a statement asking the Bihar Government to lift ban on the Hindu Mahasabha.

**December 29.** The Congress Working Committee arrived at tentative conclusions regarding the political situation and on the policy and programme of the Congress for the future.

**December 30.** Gandhiji, on his own request, was relieved of Congress leadership because of fundamental differences over interpretation of non-violence, as according to him the application of non-violence must be universal.

In the course of a letter to Congress President Maulana Azad, Gandhiji said that the Congress contemplated material association with Britain in the war effort for guaranteed independence for India.... It is my certain belief that only non-violence can save India and the world from self-extinction. Such being the case, I must continue my mission, whether I am alone or assisted by an organisation or individuals. You will, therefore, please relieve me of the responsibility laid upon me by the Bombay resolution".



## 1942

- January 7.** In the course of a statement issued from Bardoli, Gandhiji said, "So far as I can see civil disobedience in the sense in which it was started is not likely to be revived on behalf of the Congress till the war has ended. In a purely symbolic manner, it may have to be kept up not in the name of the Congress, but on behalf of the resisters of all wars on the pure ground of non-violence, no matter how few they are. It will be kept up for the sake of asserting the right to carry on propaganda against all war".  
Addressed a meeting of the Gujarat Provincial Congress.  
Announced his decision to reissue *Harijan*.
- January 10.** Returned to Wardha from Bardoli.
- January 15.** Consented to lead the Congress again on his own terms. Addressing the A.I.C.C. meeting held at Wardha after a lapse of 15 months completely supported the Bardoli resolution of the Congress Working Committee. In his speech he said while his faith in non-violence was immense, he had placed non-violence before the Congress in a political sense after reiterating that he would not have Swaraj at the cost of non-violence. He assured the Congress that he would never do it any harm and there was "no question of your losing me". He also declared "Jawaharlal will be my successor".  
He instructed all Congressmen to strengthen local organisations, enrol volunteers and make closer contact with the people.
- January 17.** Addressed representatives of Provincial Congress Committee and members of Working Committee at Wardha on the immediate task before Congressmen, and the constructive programme, with particular reference to Hindu-Muslim unity and untouchability.
- January 18.** Restarted *Harijan* weeklies after a lapse of 18 months.
- January 20.** Left for Benaras.
- January 21.** Addressing the Silver Jubilee convocation of Benaras Hindu University paid tributes to the work of Pandit Malaviya and deprecated the prevailing tendency to Persianize Urdu and Sanskritize Hindi.
- January 22.** Addressed a meeting of U.P. Congress workers at Benaras and discussed the attitude that Congressmen should adopt towards the official A.R.P. organisations and the propriety of their undertaking war contracts.
- January 25.** In an article in *Harijan* explained the constructive programme of the Congress and appealed for co-operation from all parties.
- February 2.** Addressed the (first) All-India Cow Protection Conference at Nagpur.
- February 8.** In an article wrote, "All who want an all-India speech should learn both the forms—Hindi and Urdu".
- February 11.** Paid glowing tributes to Jamnalal Bajaj whose death took place on this day.
- February 15.** Writing in the *Harijan* declared, "If the Nazis come to India the Congress will give them the same fight that it has given to Great Britain."
- February 18.** Met Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-shek at Calcutta.
- March 7.** Rangoon fell to the Japanese.
- March 8.** In an article in *Harijan*, Gandhiji pleaded for just estimate of men and things in the papers representing the policy and programme of the Muslim League.



Defended Indira Nehru's engagement with Feroze Gandhi.

**March 11.** Announcing Cripps Mission, Churchill Government stated "The crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance has made the British wish to rally all the forces of Indian life to guard their land from the menace of the invader".

**March 15.** Writing under the caption "Desirability of Exodus", Gandhiji explained why he advised the exodus from the cities of people who were not wanted there or were unfit and unwilling to stay there, which was only from the military point of view.

**March 17-18.** Gandhiji attended Working Committee meeting at Wardha.

**March 22.** In *Harijan* article requested the Government to assure the people that "scorched earth" policy would not be adopted in India.

**March 25.** Accepted invitation to meet Sir Stafford Cripps in Delhi.

**March 27.** Met Cripps and described his proposals as "a post-dated cheque". Told Cripps, "If this is your entire proposal to India, I would advise you to take the next plane".

**March 30.** Paid tributes to Subhas Chandra Bose on hearing rumour about his death.

**March 31.** Attended Congress Working Committee meeting in New Delhi.

**April 10.** Visited Bombay for collections for Andrews Memorial Fund. Congress Working Committee rejected finally Cripps proposals. The plan was rejected by all other Indian parties on different grounds.

**April 12.** Sir Stafford Cripps left Delhi for England.

**April 23.** Rajagopalachari recommended acceptance of Pakistan in principle as a basis of settlement between Congress and the League.

**April 26.** Gandhiji, in reply to a question, said : "The Japanese may free India from the British yoke, but only to put on their own instead. I have always maintained that we should not seek any other power's help to free India from the British yoke".

**April 28.** Gandhiji sent a draft resolution for consideration of Congress Working Committee at Allahabad.

**May 2.** A.I.C.C. rejected Rajaji's formula.

**May 24.** Wrote in *Harijan* regarding Cripps Plan : "Sir Stafford could have asked either the Congress or the League to form the Cabinet. In any event the Government would then have dealt with the real representatives of either party rather than having their own nominees".

In an interview to an American journalist said, "Leave India in God's hands, in modern parlance, to anarchy. From it a true India will rise in place of the false one we see".

**May 31.** Writing in *Harijan* about Rajaji's efforts stated, "He is entitled to a respectful hearing. His motive is lofty".

**June 3.** Louis Fisher, famous American journalist, came to stay at Sevagram and interviewed Gandhiji for a week. It was obvious, according to Louis Fisher, that he was determined to launch a Civil Disobedience movement with a view to making England "Quit India".

**June 7.** Writing about his differences with Rajaji in the *Harijan*, Gandhiji stated that they were very real and said, "Our modes of service for the time being are diametrically opposite. He believes in resisting the threatened Japanese attack with British aid. I regard it as impossible in the long end".

**June 19.** Replying to Cripps' remarks in an interview, Gandhiji said



that India could help the Allies if British power were withdrawn from India.

**June 21.** Assured Chiang Kai-shek of all sympathy and support for the cause of China. Writing in *Harijan* stated, "So far as my opinion is concerned, British authority should end completely, irrespective of the wishes and demands of various parties. But I would recognise their military necessity. They may need to remain in India to prevent Japanese occupation. That prevention is common cause between them and us.... I would tolerate their presence in India not in any sense as rulers but as allies of a free India".

**July 4.** Writing in *Harijan*, Gandhiji said : "I have to pay a heavy price for having drawn an entrancing picture of a free India without a single British soldier".

**July 6.** Attended Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha.

**July 10.** Prepared in his hut at Sevagram draft resolution for Working Committee meeting.

**July 14.** After discussions for several days with Congress Working Committee members, the "Quit India" resolution took shape as drafted by Gandhiji. The resolution was passed and published. Gandhiji was to lead the country in the struggle. The resolution made it clear that, though Gandhiji had changed his mind on the question of immediate withdrawal of Allied troops from India, he insisted on immediate abdication of British rule.

**July 19.** Answering questions wrote, "It is a part of the movement not to publish *Harijan* in defiance of orders" if the *Harijan* was suppressed by the Government.

**July 26.** Warned Japan, in an article in *Harijan*, that its invasion of India would be resisted by everyone.

**July 29.** In an interview at Wardha declared : "The present recognition of India's independence is the need of the hour not because of distrust about the future, but because India as an independent Power wants to play, if at all possible, a decisive part on the side of the Allies".

**August 2.** Writing in *Harijan* stated that the chorus of indignation from Great Britain and America at the Congress resolution would not deter the Congress from its purpose.

Quoting with approval a statement of Maulana Azad, he wrote that he had no objection to Britain handing over power to Muslim League or any other party provided it was real independence.

**August 5.** In a press interview in Bombay, commenting on the Government's decision to publish a certain document seized by the police at A.I.C.C. office, Allahabad, said : "There is nothing in it for which any member has any cause to be ashamed". Attended Congress Cabinet meeting held in Bombay which passed resolution restating the National Demand in the light of the development that had taken place since the adoption of the Wardha resolution. It declared that a free India would become an ally of the United Nations. "Power when it comes will belong to the whole people of India".

**August 7.** In a message to the Chinese people said, "Let China know that this struggle is as much for her defence as it is for India's liberation". Addressing A.I.C.C. members, after reviewing the situation, Gandhiji issued the following injunctions during the struggle ahead :



“If there is the slightest communal taint in your mind, keep off the struggle.

“Give up the attitude of mind which welcomes Japan.

“Do not expect to be inheritors of all power. It belongs not to you but to the people of India.

“Be non-violent in action, if not in thought, this is the least I expect from you”.

**August 8.** “Quit India” resolution was passed by A.I.C.C. session in Bombay.

Addressing the All-India Congress Committee meeting, Gandhiji said :

“Even if all the United Nations opposed me, even if the whole of India tried to persuade me that I am wrong, I will go ahead, not for India’s sake alone, but for the sake of the world”.

Concluding he said : “I have pledged the Congress and the Congress will do or die”.

**August 9.** Arrested in the early hours of the morning along with Working Committee members and hundreds of Congress leaders and workers under Defence of India Rules. Taken to Aga Khan Palace near Poona.

**August 10.** Congress declared illegal by Government.

**August 14.** Gandhiji wrote from detention his first letter to Lord Linlithgow saying, “The Government of India were wrong in precipitating the crisis . . . . However much I dislike your action, I remain the same friend you have known . . . . Heaven guide you”.

**August 15.** Mahadev Desai died in detention in Aga Khan palace.

**September 10.** Sent a wire from Aga Khan Palace Detention Camp to Sevagram Ashram regarding Mahadev Desai’s death in detention saying, “Mahadeo died suddenly, gave no indication . . . . Cremation taking place in front of me. Shall keep ashes”.

**September 23.** Writing to Secretary, Home Department, Gandhiji said : “In spite of all that has been said to the contrary, I claim that the Congress policy still remains unequivocally non-violent. I feel that the Government, not the Congress, are responsible for destruction that has taken place. Repression can only breed discontent and bitterness”.

**September 24.** Gandhiji’s “Quit India” pamphlet banned by Government.

**December 31.** Wrote a letter to Lord Linlithgow, couched in friendly terms in which he protested against the assumption that he and Congress were responsible for the violence of the rebellion, and asked either he should be convinced of the error, or that he and the Congress leaders should be exonerated of the charge. In the meanwhile he was considering undertaking a fast.

## 1943

**January 18.** Received Viceroy’s reply to his letter of 31st December, 1942.

**January 19.** Replied to Viceroy saying, “I do not accept your interpretation of my letter. You want me to make a positive suggestion. This I might be able to do only if you put me among the members of the Working Committee of the Congress . . . . To sum up :

(i) If you want me to act singly, convince me that I was wrong and I will make ample amends.

(ii) If you want me to make any proposal on behalf of the Congress.



you should put me among the Congress Working Committee members.

"I do plead with you to make up your mind to end the impasse".

**January 25.** The Viceroy in his reply wanted Gandhiji to repudiate or dissociate himself from the "Quit India" resolution and give appropriate assurance for the future before considering the matter.

**January 29.** Gandhiji, in letter to Viceroy, informed him that he would undertake a fast after early morning breakfast on 9th February, according to capacity, if he did not receive "soothing balm for my pain". He charged that the "Government goaded the people to the point of madness....I cannot interpret in any other manner the repressive measures of the Government of India".

**February 5.** The Viceroy in his reply refused to change his views regarding responsibility of Gandhiji and the Congress for what had happened after 9th August.

**February 7.** Agreed to publication of his correspondence with Government since 14th August, 1942. Replied to Lord Linlithgow's long letter saying among other things, "Your letter, from a *satyagrahi's* standpoint, is an invitation to fast. No doubt, the responsibility of the step and its consequences will be solely mine".

**February 8.** Writing in reply to Government's offer for temporary release during the fast said, "If the temporary release is offered for my convenience, I do not need it. I shall be quite content to take my fast as a detenu or prisoner....In order to give the Government enough time I shall suspend the fast, if necessary, to Wednesday, 10th instant."

**February 10.** Undertook fast of three weeks duration in Aga Khan Palace Detention Camp.

**February 13.** Government of India published *Congress Responsibility for Disturbances 1942-43*, accusing Gandhiji and Congress High Command.

**February 15.** Dr. B. C. Roy came to Poona to attend on Gandhiji during the fast.

**February 17.** "His general condition continues to cause anxiety", said a *communique* by Bombay Government.

**February 21.** The Bombay Government issued a *communique* stating that Mahatma Gandhi was extremely weak and if the fast was not ended without delay, it might be too late to save his life.

**February 22.** Gandhiji rallied from a crisis, according to doctors' report. Horace Alexander's mediation efforts for settlement failed.

**February 24.** Gandhiji's condition showed slight improvement. Wrote a letter to Col. Bhandari Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay, and asked for clear instructions about interview during his fast.

**February 26.** N. R. Sarkar, Sir H. P. Mody, and M. S. Aney resigned from Viceroy's Council.

**February 28.** A large number of visitors saw Gandhiji.

**March 2.** In a letter, thanked Col. Bhandari for allowing Gandhiji's sons to be present at the breaking of fast the following day.

**March 3.** Gandhiji broke his fast in Aga Khan Palace at 9.34 I.S.T. Besides the doctors, only the inmates of the detention camp were present. "He was very near death", said Dr. B. C. Roy.

**March 22.** Kasturba Gandhi in detention was suffering from chronic bronchitis, according to a letter from Dr. Gilder to Col. Bhandari.



**March 23.** Gandhiji in a letter to Col. Bhandari refused to have any substitute in place of Kanu Gandhi during the convalescence period after fast.

**April 1.** The Government declined to grant permission to Rajaji to see Gandhiji in detention camp.

**On or after May 4.** Gandhiji addressed a letter to Jinnah from detention camp and welcomed his invitation to write saying, "I welcome your invitation (as reported in the *Dawn* columns). I suggest our meeting face to face.... I hope this letter will be sent to you and, if you agree to my proposal, that the Government will let you visit me".

The Government refused to forward the letter to Jinnah which was conveyed to Gandhiji on 26th May by R. Tottenham.

**May 15.** Gandhiji wrote a letter to Lord Samuel in reply to his speech in the House of Lords, saying: "I was wholly unprepared for your unqualified association with the one-sided and unjustified statement of the Government of India against the Congress and me. The Government of India *communique* announcing my recent fast, issued after it had commenced, accusing me of having undertaken the fast to secure my release, was a wholly false accusation".

**May 21.** Gandhiji wrote to Sir Reginald Maxwell from Detention Camp pointing out "some errors" of fact and misquotations of speech in Government's justification of arrests of Congress leaders.

**May 26.** Government informed Gandhiji refusing to forward his letter of May 15 to Lord Samuel.

**May 27.** Gandhiji in his letter to Sir Richard Tottenham on Government's refusal to forward Gandhiji's letter to Jinnah, said: "I am sorry for the Government's decision....As to the disavowal referred to in the proposed *communique* the Government are aware that I regard the non-violent mass movement, for the launching of which the Congress gave me the authority on 8th August, as perfectly legitimate and in the interest of the Government and the public". Gandhiji also urged suitable amendment of the *communique* in the light of his submission.

**May 28.** Writing again to Tottenham on Government's publishing its *communique* without suggested amendments, expressed grief at Government action and asked for publication of the correspondence between them, which the Government refused.

Jinnah characterised Gandhiji's letter to him sent to Government as "a move to embroil Muslim league with the British Government solely for the purpose of helping his release".

**June 1.** In his letter to Tottenham, Gandhiji asked for reconsideration of his request and said, "The Government's decision not to forward letter to Lord Samuel amounts to a ban on the ordinary right belonging even to a convict of correcting damaging representations made about him".

**June 23.** Replying to Sir Reginald Maxwell said, "I had not hoped that my reply would remove the fundamental difference between us. I thought, as I still think, that my letter did point out some errors in your Assembly speech of 15th February last".

**June 30.** The number of prisoners in India following "Quit India" movement rose to 36,000.

**July 15.** Wrote a letter to Additional Secretary, Government of India, New Delhi saying, "In reply to my request dated 5th March last for a



copy of Government of India publication entitled *Congress Responsibility for Disturbances*, 1942-43. I received a copy on the 13th April. It contains several corrections marked in red ink. Some of them are striking." He explained in detail his objections in the letter, concluding : "It will be noticed although the indictment is a Government publication, I have only criticised its unknown author in fond hope that the individual members composing the Government of India have not read the originals on which it is based".

**July 16.** Refuted the rumours in daily papers that Gandhiji had written to Viceroy withdrawing A.I.C.C. resolution of 8th August, 1942, and asked the Government to contradict it for he had neither the authority nor the wish to withdraw the resolution.

**September 10.** Informed Additional Secretary to Government of India that he had not received any acknowledgement of his reply to Government's publication, which Gandhiji held to be complete refutation of the charges.

**September 27.** Writing to Lord Linlithgow on the eve of latter's departure from India, said : "It has cut me to the quick to have to think of you as having countenanced untruth, and that regarding one whom you at one time considered your friend."

**October 7.** Received reply from Lord Linlithgow saying he was unable to accept Gandhiji's interpretation of the events in question.

**October 17.** Lord Wavell, Viceroy-designate, arrived in New Delhi.

**October 20.** Lord Wavell was sworn in as Viceroy of India.

**October 26.** Acknowledging Government of India Additional Secretary's letter Gandhiji requested the Viceroy to publish his letter refuting Government's charges in full, if and when Government thought fit to make public use of the same.

**October 29.** It was announced in Commons that between August 15 and October 16, 8,000 persons had died in Calcutta alone due to Bengal famine.

**November 18.** Sir Richard Tottenham informed Gandhiji that a meeting between him and members of Congress Working Committee would serve no useful purpose as the views of Gandhiji and the Congress members had not changed.

**December 4.** A Government *communique* announced that Srimati Kasturba Gandhi had had two heart attacks in the course of the week.

**December 15.** In House of Lords the Under-Secretary of State said, "It would be in Mrs. Gandhi's own interests to remain where she is".

**December 20.** Government *communique* reported Kasturba Gandhi had another heart attack.

## 1944

**February 17.** Lord Wavell, in his first speech as Viceroy, declared that Great Britain's goal for India was a united country enjoying complete and unqualified self-government. The Cripps offer stood.

**February 20.** Government *communique* announced, "Mrs. Gandhi's condition has been deteriorating for some days past and is now very grave."

**February 22.** Kasturba Gandhi died at 7.30 p.m. on Shivaratri day in the Aga Khan Palace.



- February 23.** Kasturba's body cremated; the last rites were performed by Devdas Gandhi.
- February 25.** Kasturba's ashes collected in Aga Khan's Palace in Gandhiji's presence.
- April 6.** The Government of Bombay announced that Gandhiji had been suffering for three days from malaria and was feeling weak.
- May 3.** Gandhiji's anaemic condition worsened and his blood pressure fell further. His general condition was causing anxiety.
- May 5.** Gandhiji was informed by Col. Bhandari, the Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay, in the evening, at the Aga Khan Palace detention camp at Poona, that he and his party were to be unconditionally released at 8 o'clock the following morning.  
Gandhiji accepted a purse from the Jailor, Kately, in anticipation of his 75th birthday.
- May 6.** Inspector-General of Prisons led the way and Gandhiji passed out of the barbed wire of the Aga Khan Palace after 21 months of prison life (the last during his life time).  
Before leaving the detention camp, Gandhiji and his party paid their final homage to Kasturba Gandhi and Mahadev Desai by reciting prayers and offering flowers at the spot where they had been cremated. Gandhiji wrote to the Government that the place of cremation had become a consecrated ground and trusted that the plot would be acquired by the Government and he would arrange for proper upkeep of the sacred spot and for daily prayers.
- May 9.** Gandhiji visited Aga Khan Palace to pay homage to memory of Mahadev Desai and Kasturba, placed flowers on *samadhis* and offered prayers.
- May 15.** Doctors diagnosed that Gandhiji had contracted hookworm infection.
- May 19.** Gandhi toured areas devastated by explosion in Bombay in April.
- May 20.** Gandhiji wrote to Jayakar that he still adhered to the "Quit India" resolution.
- May 21.** Gandhiji saw a talkie for the first time, "Mission to Moscow", at Gandhigram.
- June 15.** Left Juhu for Poona to stay in Dinshaw Mehta's clinic near Panchghani.
- June 17.** Wrote in a letter to Lord Wavell that he was prepared to advise the Working Committee under the changed conditions that mass civil disobedience would not be offered as envisaged by 1942 August resolution if a declaration of immediate Indian Independence was made and a National Government responsible to the Central Assembly was formed, subject to the proviso that during pendency of the war the military operations should continue as at present but without involving any financial burden on India.
- June 29.** Lord Wavell refused permission to Gandhiji to see members of Congress Working Committee in jail.
- July 1.** Gandhiji addressed meeting of trustees of Kasturba Memorial Fund held in Poona where he said that the object of the Kasturba Fund should be the welfare of village women and children.
- July 12.** In an interview to Stuart Gelder of the *News Chronicle*, London, he said that he would be satisfied with a National Government



in full control of civil administration for the duration of the war. The Government should be chosen by persons elected by members of the Central Assembly. So far as military operations were concerned, the Viceroy and the C-in-C would be in full control.

**July 17.** Wrote a letter to Winston Churchill, British Premier that the former had taken the term "naked faqir" as a compliment though unintended."

**July.** Gandhiji advised leaders that secrecy was a sin and those in hiding should come out.

**July 26.** Jivanji Desai, Secretary and Manager of Navajivan Trust took possession of the building and press.

**July 27.** Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy his ideas about a settlement of differences between the Congress and the British Raj saying, "I am prepared to advise the Working Committee to declare that in view of changed conditions mass civil disobedience cannot be offered and that full co-operation in the war effort would be given by the Congress if the declaration of immediate Indian independence is made and a National Government responsible to the Central Assembly is formed".

**July 28.** In press interview Gandhiji re-emphasised importance of constructive programme and advised underground workers to discover themselves and take the risk of being imprisoned.

**July 31.** Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence on communal issue released to Press.

**August 1.** Gandhiji arrived in Poona on his way to Sevagram.

**August 2.** Visited the *Samadhi* of Kasturba and Mahadev Desai in the morning. Left for Wardha.

In an interview to *Daily Worker*, he said that if the Allies were fighting for democracy their democracy should include all the exploited races of the earth. India was never so much under foreign domination as she was at the time.

**August 3.** Drove to Sevagram Ashram in a decorated bullock cart. Soon after, visited Kasturba's cottage.

**August 5.** Issued a statement from Sevagram advising the people how to celebrate 9th August anniversary.

He also urged the underground workers to come out on the 9th August.

**August 9.** Congressmen arrested in Bombay were released in the evening.

Sevagram observed the day by fasting, praying and spinning.

**August 10.** Over a thousand letters and articles addressed to Gandhiji while in detention were delivered to him.

Gandhiji paid tributes to memory of Kasturba and Mahadev Desai in a statement.

**August 17.** Received a letter from Viceroy.

**August 18.** Gandhi-Wavell correspondence released by Government.

Interviewed, Gandhiji said that the Government's final reply showed that the British Government had no intention of winning public support.

**August 31.** Picketers appeared at Sevagram Ashram to prevent Gandhiji from going to Bombay for talks with Mr. Jinnah. Nathuram Vinayak Godse was one of them.

**September 1-3.** A.I.S.A. met at Sevagram. In course of talks Gandhiji declared that the Charkha Sangh should be dissolved and the property of the Sangh should be distributed among the villagers as the Government could crush the Charkha Sangh whenever it suited them. He advised



all the workers to go to the villages and run independent centres. He said that a joint board of Charkha Sangh, Gram Udyog Sangh and Talimi Sangh should be formed which would issue necessary directions to give effect to the new policy.

**September 9.** Arrived in Bombay and went to see Jinnah at his residence for talks, which continued for 18 days.

**September 19.** At evening prayer Gandhiji urged people to establish the closest bonds of friendship between Hindus and Muslims and among members of all communities.

**September 27.** Gandhi-Jinnah talks broke down.

**October 2.** Gandhiji's 75th birthday. He was presented a purse of Rupees 80 lakhs raised for the Kasturba National Memorial Fund. He marked the occasion by planting a Tulsi sapling before Kasturba's deserted hut. Continued to stay at Sevagram.

**December 25.** On Christmas Day, Gandhiji issued a short message to members of the Ashram, "...let us on this occasion remember and meditate on the fact that Christ mounted the cross for what he held to be the Truth."

**December 31.** Gandhiji ill at Sevagram. Started 'work-fast', *i.e.*, abstention from all work, on the advice of Rajaji, for a month.

## 1945

**January.** Conversations between Bhulabhai Desai and Liaquat Ali Khan on the possibility of an agreement between the Congress and the League regarding the formation of an interim Central Government, made up of (1) equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the League, (2) representatives of minorities, and (3) the Commander-in-Chief. Documents embodying the agreement were signed by both parties to the conversations. Desai was in touch with Gandhiji throughout.

**January 3.** Gandhiji wrote to Dr. Ambedkar.

**January 5.** Bhulabhai Desai spoke to Gandhiji about his reactions and views on political situation after his talks with Liaquat Ali Khan and Lord Wavell. Gandhiji welcomed the suggestion for Congress-League coalition.

**January 12.** Attended the conference of educationists at Sevagram. His speech was read out by Dr. Zakir Husain.

**January 13.** In the course of a letter to a correspondent, Gandhiji wrote that he was not in favour of any militant programme for Jan. 26 celebrations. He wanted constructive programme to be prosecuted with redoubled zeal.

**January 24.** He asked a local Congress worker not to adopt any extremist programme for 26th January. At Sevagram, Government served notices under "Camps and Parade Control Notification".

**January 25.** In a cable to Krishna Menon in London, Gandhiji said : "Independence for India is essential for world peace as also peace for India. It must come but it will come earlier if England and other powers see the obvious".

**February 15.** Interrupting his 'work-fast', he spoke at a meeting of the Provincial Secretaries of Kasturba Memorial Fund.

**February 20.** Asked Bhulabhai Desai to go ahead with his talks with Muslim League leaders even at the cost of failure of attempt.



**February 23.** Moved to Principal Agarwal's cottage in Commerce College at Wardha.

**February 28.** Returned to Sevagram.

**March 12.** Muslim League Ministry in N.W.F.P. thrown out. Gandhiji blessed the Congress Ministry installed under Dr. Khan Sahib.

**March 20.** In a special interview in Bombay, said, "All talk of resolution of the present deadlock is useless so long as the members of the Congress Working Committee and other Congress members are in detention".

**March 24.** Attended meeting of the trustees and secretaries of Charkha Sangh and emphasised importance of Nai Talim.

**March 31.** In a statement on National Week said that India was never nearer the goal than now.

Liaquat Ali Khan denied that there was a "pact" with Bhulabhai Desai. Mr. Jinnah too categorically disowned it.

**April 1.** Visited Montessori Exhibition in Bombay and attended a meeting of the Executive Committee of Kasturba Memorial Fund.

**April 10.** Had discussions with the American Consul and Vice-Consul.

**April 16.** On the death of President Roosevelt he cabled a message of "condolence and congratulation" to Mrs. Roosevelt, the latter because the President had died in harness and was spared the humiliating spectacle of being party to a peace which would threaten to be a prelude to a deadlier war.

**April 21.** Arrived in Poona.

**May .** In an interview to Ralph Coniston of *Collier's Weekly* he said, "War criminals are not confined to Axis powers alone. Roosevelt and Churchill are no less war criminals than Hitler and Mussolini". Suggested the idea of a world government based on Truth and non-violence. He wanted India to be represented at the San Francisco Conference by an elected representative, not one nominated by British Imperialism.

**May 5.** The war ended in Europe.

**May 17-18.** Attended meetings of Kasturba Memorial Fund.

**May 23.** A care-taker Government under Mr. Churchill was set up in Britain and 5th July was fixed for General Election.

**May 31.** Left for Panchghani.

**June 10-11.** Discussed Wavell Plan with Bhulabhai Desai.

**June 14.** Issued a statement on the Viceroy's broadcast. The Viceroy said that he was authorised by the British Government to place new proposals before Indian leaders.

**June 15.** Gandhiji declared that the Congress Working Committee alone was competent to declare Congress attitude to Viceroy's proposals. Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel and other leaders were released.

**June 16.** Gandhiji's correspondence with Lord Wavell was released.

**June 17.** Sent long letter to Viceroy.

**June 18.** Maulana Azad, Congress President, received Viceroy's invitation through Bengal Governor.

**June 19.** Further Gandhi-Viceroy correspondence, on proposed leaders' conference was released.

**June 21.** Gandhiji attended Congress Working Committee which met after



three years and approved leaders' attending Simla conference after discussing the Wavell Plan.

Mahatma Gandhi and Congress President Maulana Azad given full authority for negotiations at Simla conference.

**June 24.** At Simla Gandhiji interviewed Lord Wavell. He said to the Viceroy at first meeting, "I, too, am a soldier like you though I bear no arms". Gandhiji agreed to stay on in Simla at Viceroy's request. Mr. Jinnah met Viceroy separately.

**June 25.** Simla conference met under the presidentship of Lord Wavell with the representatives of party leaders chosen by Viceroy. Gandhiji did not attend. Lord Wavell and Congress President addressed the meeting.

**June 28.** Gandhiji made it clear to all parties that an imposed parity between the Hindus and Muslims would make the Viceregal proposals wholly unacceptable.

**June 29.** The conference adjourned for a fortnight as the parties concerned were unable to come to an agreement about composition and strength of the list of names to be selected for joining National Government.

**July 3.** Gandhiji attended Congress Working Committee meeting at Simla for selection of names for the proposed Interim Government. Congress submitted a list of 15 names belonging to all parties, castes and creed. All parties except the Muslim League sent lists of names to the Viceroy.

**July 11.** Failure of Simla leaders' Conference announced, as the Muslim League refused to accept the names proposed by Lord Wavell.

**July 17.** Gandhiji arrived in Delhi from Simla and visited Satyavati Devi and Dr. & Mrs. Shaukat Ansari.

**July 18.** Returned to Sevagram.

**August 9.** Lord Wavell announced that he was going to London to consult with British Government on future developments regarding India.

**August 15.** World War II came to an end on the acceptance of Allied terms by Japan following dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

**August 19.** Left Sevagram for Bombay.

**September 14.** Gandhiji attended Congress Working Committee meeting which decided to contest General Elections.

**September 19.** British Government issued a statement expressing their intention to (1) facilitate the resumption of ministerial responsibility in the provinces; (2) convene a constitution-making body, and (3) reconstitute the Viceroy's Executive Council.

**September 20-21.** Attended meeting of A.I.C.C. in Bombay.

**December 1.** Reached Calcutta for Bengal tour and had talks with R.G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, who assured Gandhiji that independence was coming. Gandhiji replied that in that case all development projects then in hand should be prepared and worked out in consultation with the people. This talk was followed by a series of interviews.

**December 7.** Attended Congress Working Committee meeting at Calcutta.

**December 10.** Had a talk with Lord Wavell in Calcutta as arranged by Mr. Casey.

**December 18-19.** Visited Shantiniketan. Laid the foundation of Deenabandhu Memorial Hospital.

**December 25.** Left for a week's tour of Midnapur District of Bengal which had been ravaged by cyclone and floods.



## 1946

**January 2.** Addressing Congress Workers, said he did not believe that Subhas Babu was dead.

**January 9.** Reached Gauhati for a seven-day tour of Assam.

**January 10.** Ban on *Harijan* was removed by the Government.

**January 21.** While at Madras Gandhiji decided to resume publication of the *Harijan* weeklies which were suppressed after the commencement of the "Quit India" Movement.

**January 25.** Presided over Dakshin Bharat Hindustani Prachar Sabha's Silver Jubilee celebration.

**February 2.** While on way to Madura announced that the *Harijan* would be published from week to week. The first issue of *Harijan* came out on 10th Feb.

**On or After February 5.** Wrote to Lord Wavell, after return from South India tour: "A great many lives may depend on the attitude of the political parties to such administrative steps as may be taken to economise in foodgrains and make the necessary food available to the people in the drought affected areas."

**Second week of February.** Lord Wavell, in reply, asked for public co-operation and, therefore, approached Gandhiji for co-operation and help.

**February 11.** Viceroy's Private Secretary, Abell, came to see Gandhiji at Sevagram to discuss food situation. Gandhiji addressed a prayer meeting in the evening advising people to conserve food. Wrote in an article that a food crisis was a certainty and drew up 8-point advice to be followed by the people.

**February 19.** The Royal Indian Navy ratings presented their demands to Government after which a mutiny broke out, affecting 74 ships, 4 flotillas and 20 shore establishments. Gandhiji read in these events portents of the times and sternly warned: "If they mutinied for freedom of India, they were doubly wrong. They would not do so without a call from a prepared revolutionary party. They should have waited for the guidance and intervention of political leaders of their choice."

British Government announced that a mission consisting of three Cabinet Ministers would proceed to India in order to discuss with leaders of Indian opinion, in association with the Viceroy, the framing of a constitution for India.

**February 21.** Wrote to Personal Secretary to the Viceroy, suggesting the following points to tackle food situation :

1. "The Indian Army should be given this unique opportunity of doing constructive work.
2. "Regarding additional food, fish has been mentioned. Fish abound in the seas around the coast. The Royal Indian Navy could arrange about staffing these.
3. "All public gardens should grow vegetables.
4. "The distribution of food should be through co-operative societies.
5. "All food parcels sent abroad should be stopped.
6. "All foodstuffs in the hands of the military should be released."

**February 23.** Referring to troubles in Calcutta and elsewhere, Gandhiji in a press statement said, "I have followed the events now happening in India with painful interest. This mutiny in the Navy and what is following is not, in any sense of the term, non-violent action. A combination



of Hindus and Muslims and others for the purpose of violent action is unholy and probably a preparation for mutual violence—bad for India and the world. The Rulers have declared their intention to ‘quit’ in favour of Indian rule, Let the action be not delayed by a moment....”

**February 28.** Viceroy replied, thanking Gandhiji for suggestions, and agreed to consider the proposals.

**Before March 3.** Army men had been to Gandhiji’s camp during the week to seek advice. After talks the representatives who met Gandhiji promised not to take any precipitate action.

**March 3.** Gandhiji said in an article in *Harijan* that the R.I.N. ratings would have gained honour and dignity if they had manfully given up their jobs.

**March 14.** Gandhiji addressed a mammoth meeting at Shivaji Park, Bombay, and said “....the root of *satyagraha* is in prayer. A *satyagrahi* relies upon God for protection against the tyranny of brute force.”

**March 22.** Moved to Urli Kanchan a small station on the Sholapur-Poona line.

**March 24.** British Cabinet Delegation of three members arrived in New Delhi. (Talks with leaders of different parties were held from 1st to 17th April in Viceroy’s House.)

**March 30.** Gandhiji said in an article that “in view of all the proofs” supplied by Capt. Habibur Rahman and Shri Iyer, “I appeal to everyone to forget what I have earlier said that Netaji was alive and believing in the evidence before them reconcile themselves to the fact that Netaji has left us.”

**March 31.** Had talks with soldiers at Urli Kanchan, where there was a military camp. The Indian soldiers contacted Gandhiji during his morning walks and engaged him in talks. He once said, “I know there is a new ferment, a new awakening among all the army ranks today. Not a little of the credit for this change is due to Netaji Bose. I disapprove of his method but he has rendered a signal service to India by giving the Indian soldiers a new vision and new ideal”.  
Came to Bombay and stayed at Harijan quarters at Worli.

**April 1-2.** Reached Delhi and stayed at Valmiki temple (Bhangi Colony) during the period of his talks with Cabinet Mission. The venue of the talks was Viceroy’s House.

**Before April 7.** When INA prisoners were brought for trial to Delhi in secrecy, Gandhiji wrote a letter to Lord Wavell in the course of which he said, “India adores these men who are on trial....It is not for me to say what should be done except that what is being done is not the way....”

**April 7.** Gandhiji visited INA prisoners in Delhi (Kabul Lines). Said in a prayer meeting, “For me a visit to the INA men in detention was a matter of duty. It gave me supreme satisfaction. Netaji was like a son to me.”

**After April 8.** Saw Gen. Auchinlick, the C-in-C of India, regarding the INA and was happy to get reassuring reply from him.

**April 13.** Gandhiji again visited the INA prisoners in Red Fort.

**2nd week of April.** Gandhiji was asked by Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, a member of the Cabinet Delegation staff, “Supposing we imposed what we considered a just solution and went ?” Gandhiji replied: “Leave it to the Congress and the League....but in any case British occupation



must end forthwith. He added "Probably there will be arbitration.... But there may be a blood bath.... Even so, it would not be worse than what it is under British rule."

**May 2.** At Simla prayer meeting said: "Many people today share the belief, and I am one of them, that this time the Cabinet Mission will do the right thing and the British power would finally and completely be withdrawn. Time alone will show how far this belief is justified."

**May 12.** The failure of Simla conference was announced.

**May 16.** The Cabinet Delegation, with the British Government's approval, published their own recommendations to "ensure setting up of a new constitution" in two parts: (1) Long-term plan for constitution-making body, and (2) short-term proposal for Interim Government with the support of the major political parties."

**May 18.** Gandhiji in his discourse said, "...The Mission and the Viceroy have tried to bring the parties together but they could not bring about an agreement. So they recommended to the country what in their opinion was worthy of acceptance by the Constituent Assembly....The Mission brought forth something for which they have every reason to be, proud",

**May 18-19.** Gandhiji held discussions with Cabinet Mission.

**May 20.** Gandhiji in his article, "An Analysis", declared about the Cabinet Mission's proposals: "After four days of searching examination of the State Paper issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government, my conviction abides that it is the best document the British Government could have produced in the circumstances....Their one purpose is to end British rule as early as possible. They would do so if they could by their effort leave a united India not torn asunder by internecine quarrel bordering on civil war...."

**May 24.** Congress Working Committee examined Cabinet Mission's statement and reserved final opinion.

**May 28.** Gandhiji left Delhi for Mussoorie under the lengthening shadow of communal disturbance in many cities in India. At a prayer meeting he said, "I myself have become a Harijan by choice. I would love to be in a place where Harijans can come and dwell."

To a foreign press correspondent Gandhiji said "If I did become a dictator for one day, I would spend it in clearing the stables of Viceroy's House that the hovels of the Harijans in Delhi are."

**June 7.** Returned to Delhi.

**June 9.** In a talk with INA men while in Delhi he was asked, "What would you have done if Subhas Babu had returned to you victorious?" To this he replied: "I would have asked him to make you put away your weapons and stack them before me".

**June 11.** Gandhiji met the Viceroy and discussed a Congress-League Coalition Government.

**June 13.** Wrote to Lord Wavell, "You must choose one horse or the other. You will never succeed riding two at the same time. Choose the names either of the Congress or of the League."

**June 16.** The Viceroy and Cabinet Mission issued a statement abandoning further negotiations. Invitations were issued to 14 persons by name (six Hindu members of Congress, five Muslims of the League and three from minorities viz., one each from Sikhs, Indian Christians and Parsis) to join Coalition Government. Gandhiji commented: "Instead of following the democratic procedure of inviting one or the other party,



the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission want to impose a Government of their choice.”

Gandhiji dictated for working Committee the draft letter of terms to Viceroy (1) The Muslim League was not to include any non-Muslim name in the list (2) Congress must have the right to include one Muslim name being a national body, (3) The League to have no say outside the body of five Muslim names (4) The Interim Govt. to be regarded as responsible to the elected representatives in the Assembly.

**June 2-18.** Tentative decision to accept Viceroy's scheme emerged in Congress Working Committee meeting.

**June 19.** Gandhiji gave final notice to Working Committee that he would leave Delhi in the event of non-inclusion of a nationalist Muslim's name in Congress list.

**June 20.** Viceroy's secret assurance to Jinnah that no change in principle would be made in the list of names without the consent of two major parties upset the Congress. This gave the League the virtual power of veto.

**June 21.** Bapu's draft was again discussed by Working Committee who warned that they would not get anything by entering into a new venture on bended knees.

**June 29.** The Cabinet Mission left Delhi for London.

**July 6.** At AICC meeting in Bombay he said “he saw darkness all around him” but in spite of his misgivings he had not opposed the decision of the Working Committee.

**July 7.** Addressing the AICC he asked the members not to regard the decisions of the Working Committee on Cabinet Mission's proposals lightly. He supported the decision to join the Constituent Assembly. He refused to believe that the Cabinet Mission had come all the way from England to deceive the people of India.

In the course of an article, “Atom Bomb and Ahimsa”, wrote: “Often does good come out of evil. But that is God's, not man's plan. Man knows that only evil can come out of evil, as good out of good. Mankind has to get out of violence only through non-violence.”

**July 9.** In the AICC meeting in Bombay said that the South African situation was charged with momentous consequences. *Satyagraha* was being tried in the land of its birth.

Told Shri Morarji Desai to go to Ahmedabad to meet the flames of communal passion under the sole protection of God.

**July 10.** In the course of an address before prayer gathering, outlined his plan for A.I.S.A.

Declared that he wanted brotherly ties between Ceylonese and Indians. in Ceylon.

Left for Panchagani.

**July 14.** Wrote in an article that there need be no misgivings about how the funds of the Kasturba Memorial Trust were being utilised. He said that it was enough for all to know that village midwives and nurses were being trained for the present.

Wrote in *Harijan* that the Jews had erred grievously in seeking to impose themselves on Palestine with the aid of America and Britain and now with the aid of naked terrorism. Their citizenship of the world would have and could have made them honoured guests of any country.

**July 20.** “I am responsible for the policy of conducting Harijan uplift



work through the agency of the *Savarna* Hindus. They had to do expiation"—in these words Gandhiji expounded the policy of the Harijan Sevak Sangh at a meeting at Panchghani. In course of a discourse he deplored Ahmedabad riots and explained policy of the Congress Government.

**July 21.** Wrote in an article that India's independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village would be a republic or *panchayat* having full powers. The Constituent Assembly had all the possibilities for realization of this picture.

**July 22.** Lord Wavell made fresh efforts to form Interim Government and wrote to Pt. Nehru, the new Congress President and Mr. Jinnah inviting them to co-operate in forming it on the basis of 16th June formula.

**July 24.** Gandhiji advocated struggle for liberation of Goa through non-violent action.

**July 27.** Said in an interview with Louis Fischer that as the Constituent Assembly was created by the British Government it was no use calling it a sovereign body. To become sovereign "you have to behave in a sovereign way". To another question he replied, "My communism is not very different from socialism. It is a harmonious blending of the two; communism, as I have understood, is a natural corollary of socialism".

**July 31.** Addressing a conference of Congress ministers of provinces at Poona said the task before them was to realize the content of Independence for the masses. Explained his approach to village industries.

**August 2.** Wrote a letter to the Governor-General of Portuguese India about Goa affairs and urged him to let the inhabitants of Goa frame their own Government.

**August 12.** Lord Wavell invited Nehru and Jinnah to send him list of names for an Interim Government but Mr. Jinnah declined. The Viceroy accepted Pt. Nehru's list but explained in a broadcast that it was still open to Muslim League to nominate five members to a government of fourteen persons, which would in that case be reformed.

**August 16.** 'Direct Action Day' declared by Muslim League took a violent turn in Calcutta and led to mass murders which lasted several days before being brought under control. Violent outbursts also took place in various parts of India.

Calcutta disturbances spread to other parts of Bengal—first Dacca and then Noakhali and Chittagong—and killings on huge scale took place. The arrival of refugees in Bihar started violent retaliation in that province too.

**August 24.** The personnel of the First National Interim Government led by Pandit Nehru was announced.

**September 2.** New Government led by Pt. Nehru assumed office.

After the Congress took office in the Interim Government, Gandhiji again insisted that "the new ministers must resolve never to use the British troops, not even the police trained by them, for repression. They should now be used for constructive purposes."

Gandhiji in his prayer meeting at New Delhi congratulated the British Government on the peaceful settlement.

**September 9.** At a prayer meeting deplored the continued strife in Bombay.

**September 10.** Deplored the rising tide of communal passion in the country



and recent pronouncements of Mr. Jinnah and his lieutenants that they would take what they wanted by force. He felt hurt that Mr. Jinnah had called the Hindus enemies.

**September 23.** Addressed AICC meeting held at D.A.V. School, Delhi. Acharya Kripalani assumed Congress Presidentship.

In the course of answers to questions he said, "I want to reduce the prices of foodgrains still further....It should be the business of the Interim Government to see that the tiller of the soil gets full value for his produce....Even in *khadi* production I set the target of eight annas per day for the spinners."

**September 26.** Gandhiji had a meeting with the Viceroy at New Delhi, at latter's invitation.

**Before September 27.** Reports of killings and stabbings came from Calcutta, Dacca, Allahabad, Bombay, etc.

**September 27.** Wrote a letter to the Viceroy reminding him that the continuance of a *bona fide* National Government at the Centre was a vital necessity and any departure from it would lay the British people open to the gravest suspicion.

**September 28.** Wrote another letter to Lord Wavell.

The Viceroy in reply noted that he was glad to learn Gandhiji would use his influence for a settlement.

**October 1.** Had talks with the Nawab of Bhopal who had come to impress upon Gandhiji the need of Muslim League's entry into the Government on the assurance given by the Nawab of Bhopal that if the League nominees worked together with the Congress as a team, as was clearly contemplated, all decisions would be taken after joint consultations and there would be no differences left. Gandhiji was under the impression that all this was set down explicitly in the formula to which he had agreed.

**October 4.** The formula was signed by Gandhiji.

At night he found his mistake and sent a message to the Nawab of Bhopal that though he had accepted the responsibility he could not betray the Congress to force it to accept the formula as it stood.

**October 5.** Congress Working Committee in a meeting accepted both parts of Gandhiji's formula and conveyed the same to Jinnah.

**October 8.** At the A.I.S.A. conference, Gandhiji suggested that in certain areas where the people were prepared to try out the experiment of self-sufficiency in cloth, the Government should prohibit the entry of mill cloth.

**October 10.** Reign of terror in Naokhali but for nearly a week the world outside was not permitted to know about it. The holocaust which started on the Lakshmi Puja Day continued unabated throughout the month. The contagion affected adjoining Tipperah district also.

**October 15.** The Viceroy was informed that the League had agreed to join the Interim Government.

Gandhiji's work in Delhi was almost over with Muslim League's entry into Interim Government. Two days later he heard the news about Naokhali holocaust.

**October 18.** Gandhiji declared at the prayer meeting in Harijan Colony, Delhi, that he had received numerous messages inviting him to go to Bengal to quell the raging fury.

**October 21.** In an interview to Preston Grover of Associated Press of



America at the Sweepers' Colony, New Delhi, declared that the Muslim League Ministry should be able to control the disorders in East Bengal. Described the Bengal outbreak as 'heart-breaking'. Announced intention of visiting troubled areas in Bengal after his meeting with Pt. Nehru on October 23.

Said that he was shaken in his belief that he would live to 125 years.

**October 26.** Declared at a prayer meeting that "forcible conversion was no conversion at all, nor abduction of a girl a bar to her return to her home."

Interim Government was re-formed with the participation of five Muslim League nominees.

**October 30.** Gandhiji arrived at Sodepur Ashram near Calcutta.

**October 31.** Interviewed Bengal Governor and Prime Minister in connection with East Bengal happenings.

In the evening prayer meeting, referred to Viceroy's appeal on behalf of the whole Cabinet and wanted all to pray with him for the establishment of emotional unity between the Muslims and the Hindus.

**Before November 3.** In reply to a question by a Muslim friend he said that "it was the cry of outraged womanhood that had peremptorily called him to Naokhali. His technique of non-violence was on trial. It remained to be seen how it would answer in the face of the present crisis." Announced that his departure for Naokhali was postponed for a few days. Meanwhile he would render whatever service he could in Calcutta.

**November 3.** In *Harijan* he declared, "Our women are easily scared away. They could keep a dagger for self-defence if they wished to". He advised them even to take poison and end their lives rather than submit to dishonour. There was no sin like cowardice.

Gandhiji impressed upon the people in prayer addresses that the desire for retaliation and the tendency to look for protection from the Viceroy, the Governor, the military and the police was incompatible with the independence to which they were all pledged.

**November 4.** Telegraphed through the Prime Minister, Bengal, to Pt. Nehru who had proceeded from Calcutta to Patna on hearing the report of conflagration in Bihar.

**November 5.** Wrote to Nehru, "The news from Bihar, has shaken me. If even half of what one hears is true, it shows that Bihar has forgotten humanity.... The logic of the argument is driving me towards a fast". At the same time he reacted adversely to Nehru's statement that the Central Government would, in its refusal to tolerate such barbarism, use even aerial bombing to put it down. That was the way of the British, he commented, in his silent day's written message to the prayer meeting.

**November 6.** Left Sodepur (Calcutta) for Noakhali by a special train. Gandhiji set himself systematically to the work of reconciliation. He moved on from place to place and for some time made his own headquarters in Shrirampur and distributed his little band of trusted disciples in neighbouring villages. He mingled freely with Muslims and Hindus and expounded his gospel to them equally.

While he was in East Bengal he learnt of the attacks by Hindus elsewhere on small pockets of Muslims. He was full of grief and shame at the news. "The independence of India is today at stake in Bengal



and Bihar. Biharis have behaved as cowards. If the Biharis wanted to retaliate they could have gone to Naokhali and died to a man", he said.

**November 7.** Gandhiji with party fixed up his headquarters at Chaudmohani for the time being. To the refugees he said, "I will not leave Bengal till the hatchet is finally buried and even a solitary Hindu girl is not afraid to move freely.... I have not come to excite the Hindus to fight, and among the Mussalmans I have no enemies. I have fought the British all my life. Yet they are my friends, I have never wished them ill".

In the course of his talks with workers regarding Bihar, Gandhiji declared: "If the Bihar performance is repeated or the Bihar mentality does not mend, you may note down my words in your diary: Before long India will pass under the yoke of the Big Three with one of them probably as the mandatory power. The Independence of India is today at stake in Bengal and Bihar. The British Government entrusted the Congress with power not because they are in love with the Congress but because they had faith that the Congress would use it wisely well, not abuse it".

**November 8.** Addressing a meeting of Hindus and Muslims at Sopairbag, told them that it was a shame for both the Hindus and the Mussalmans that the Hindus should have to run away from their homes as they had done. Continued his journey from village to village, partly by car and partly by boat.

**November 16.** Expressed his desire to stay with a League Mussalman saying, "My requirements are few. All I want is cleanliness, clean water, permissible food". The idea was that if the Hindus saw him living with a Muslim League friend they would probably get back their confidence and return to their homes more readily. To Muslim friends, it would be an opportunity to examine him at close quarters and find out whether he was an enemy or friend. Gaffran Saheb, the Minister for Civil Supplies, and Ahmed Hussain Saheb, Agriculture Minister, and other League friends met Gandhiji to discuss with him the rehabilitation proposals of the Government. The Ministers appealed to the Hindus to return to their homes without fear.

Asked why he had not gone to Bihar, Gandhiji said that he had resolved to fast if Bihar did not stop the madness. He was in constant touch with Bihar. There the Muslims were returning home. If he was to leave East Bengal, he must see that peace ruled there between Hindus and Muslims.

**November 20.** Announced at Chandpur that he had decided to disperse his party, detailing each member, including the ladies, to settle down in one affected village, make himself or herself the hostage of his or her safety and that of the Hindu minority of that village.

Further declared he was going to bury himself in East Bengal until such time that Hindus and Mussalmans learnt to live in harmony and peace.

**December 9.** The Constituent Assembly met without the representatives of the Muslim League and adjourned after a short session.

**December 15.** Gandhiji, said to Assam Congressmen in an interview, "If there is no clear guidance from the Congress Committee, Assam should not go into sections. It should lodge its protest and retire



from the Constituent Assembly. It will be a kind of *Satyagraha* against the Congress for the good of the Congress.....I have the same advice for the Sikhs”.

**December 24.** Gandhiji said in his prayer speech at Shrirampur that complaints had been pouring in that people were unable to shed their fear because persons known to be guilty were freely moving about. The only effective protection came from reliance upon internal strength, *i.e.* on God.

**December 25.** Reading from the Bible formed a special feature of his prayer meeting on Christmas Day. Addressing the gathering he said he believed in the equality of all religions adding that the lessons that Jesus Christ gave belonged to the whole world.

**December 27.** Said that confidence was slowly returning in the affected areas.

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**January 4.** Continued his walking tour from village to village and came to Chandirgaon where he opened a school.

**January 7.** ‘One night in one village’ tour commenced. Left Chandipur for Masimpur. There he said the police and the military were going about for his protection but he himself did not like it. Some Sikhs also were with him but they had left their *kirpans* behind and were unarmed.

**January 9.** At Daspara he said that the Muslims of Noakhali should tell the Bengal Government that no police or military protection was required for him and they themselves would protect him.

**January 11.** At Jagatpur said that Islam’s history written by Muslim Divines did not condone forcible conversions.

**January 12.** Felt that he must refuse to tackle all-India correspondence and to send messages to men and institutions as he had no time at his disposal. He wanted to confine his activities solely to Noakhali and disturbed areas,

**January 14.** At Bhatialpur, reinstalled the family deity of Radha Krishna in the household shrine of his host. Said in reply to a question, “Only after achievement of independence can there be question of granting of Pakistan.” To reverse the process was to invite foreign help. “Independence and Pakistan require the exclusion of all foreign powers. Until and unless India is free, there cannot be any other question,” he added. Earlier he said he had no objection to setting up of a Muslim State and, in fact, Bengal was one such state.

**January 15.** At Narayanpur, urged the refugees to return home. He was happy to spend another night under the roof of a Muslim friend.

**January 19.** Met Miss Amtus Salaam who was on fast for Hindu-Muslim unity. Mahatmaji himself gave her some orange juice which she took, thus ending her fast after 25 days.

**January 22.** The Constituent Assembly in New Delhi passed the resolution as moved by Prime Minister Nehru on 13th Dec., 1946 unanimously defining the objectives of the future constitution of India after a full discussion.

**February 3.** He covered the first part of his walking tour pilgrimage while



he reached Sadhurkhil traversing about 150 miles of worst affected areas.]

**February 6.** Wrote to Pandit Nehru in a letter, "Very great pressure is being put upon me to go to Bihar because they all say that things are not properly represented to me. I am watching."

**February 7.** At Prasadpur, said in a prayer meeting that the refugees should be given work to earn; giving doles should be stopped with one month's notice if they refused offer of occupations.

**February 16.** At Raipura, after visiting more villages of Noakhali, he expressed his desire to visit two mosques. The Imam in charge of one agreed to it and he was taken round and shown everything including underground cellar where Maulana H.A. Madani stayed. In reply to Fazlul Huq's aspersions, Gandhiji said he was not aware of having done anything to create bitterness between the two communities. He had, of course, interpreted the teachings of the Prophet and referred to them in his speeches.

**February 18.** Entered Tipperah District in the morning. He was not feeling well and looked tired. But he was eager to complete the programme upto Haimchar by 24th February.

**February 19.** Observed Mahasivaratri day at Char Dukhia by fasting. Distributed fruits to children in commemoration of the day when Ba quitted her mortal frame three years before.

**February 20.** Replying to M. Fazlul Haq from Char Dukhia, wired that he was agreeable to meet him for discussion.

Criticised the Government, of India's action in refusing passport and impounding the certificate of identity of Dr. Dadoo and Naicker.

Prime Minister Attlee made a statement in Parliament that it was the British Government's definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transfer of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948. Simultaneously announced was the termination of Lord Wavell's term as Viceroy and the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as his successor.

**February 24.** Stayed at Haimchar for next 6 days. Giving his first reaction to Attlee's announcement of 20th February, Gandhiji wrote to Nehru of his own interpretation as under:

1. Independence will be recognised of those parts which desire it and will do without British protection.
2. The British will remain where they are wanted.
3. This may lead to Pakistan for those provinces or portions which may want it. No one will be forced one way or the other. The Congress Provinces, if they are wise, will get what they want.
4. Much will depend upon what the Constituent Assembly will do and what the Interim Government are able to do.
5. If the British Government are and, are able to remain sincere, the declaration is good. Otherwise it is dangerous.

In course of talks with a friend who had come with some important dispatches from New Delhi he said, "I do not want to die.....a defeated man. An assassin's bullet may put an end to my life. I should welcome it. But I would love, above all, to fade out doing my duty till my last breath."

At prayer meeting at Haimchar, declared that whatever might have



been the history of British Rule in the past, there was not a shadow of doubt that the British were going to quit India in the near future.....It was time, therefore, that the Hindus and Muslims should determine to live in peace and unity. The alternative was a civil war.

**February 27.** After his talks with Fazulul' Huq, Gandhiji began to make plans for the third phase of his pilgrimage on foot which was to have begun on 2nd March, covering other parts of Noakhali and Tipperah.

**February 28.** Received another letter from Pt. Nehru to return to Delhi for consultations.

Dr. Mahmud's Secretary arrived with a letter from him. Gandhiji after reading it wired to Bihar Prime Minister whether as stated by Dr. Mahmud he wanted him to visit Bihar now. He referred to his proposed visit to Bihar in his speech after prayers.

**March 1.** Addressing prayer meeting at Haimchar he announced, "I hope to leave Haimchar for Bihar tomorrow afternoon. I will go to Calcutta first and then to Bihar."

He said he would return to Noakhali and Tipperah after a short visit to Bihar.

**March 2.** Reached Chandpur.

In the prayer meeting in the evening he explained the pressing need of proceeding to Bihar. He expected to return to his chosen scene of service—Noakhali—as soon as possible. Meanwhile, he hoped that the Muslims would belie the fears of the Hindu refugees that they would not be allowed to live in peace.

Special steamer with Gandhiji and party left at 9.30 p.m.

**March 3.** Reached Sodepur (Calcutta) at 9-30 p.m. Replying to pressmen said, "Personally, I feel the situation has improved, but the sufferer alone can give reply to your question."

**March 4.** Was closeted with Prime Minister of Bengal.  
Left Calcutta.

**March 5.** Arrived at Patna in the morning and had talks with Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Food Minister of the Interim Central Government and then with the Bihar Chief Minister Mr. Shri Krishna Sinha, and other ministers to learn the truth. Gandhiji told Nawab Ismail that he would 'do or die' in Bihar.

In the evening prayer meeting at Bankipore Maidan asked the Hindus to remove the fears of their Muslim brethren. He hoped that Holi next day would be marked by a renewal of old friendly relations between them.

**March 7.** Listened to reports from representatives of different organisations—both of Hindus and Muslims.

**March 8.** Had talks with Mahummad Yunus and other Muslim leaders.

**March 9.** Had reports from Binodananda Jha and others.

**March 10-11.** Daily round of interviews continued. Bihar became another outpost in his 'do or die' mission.

**March 12.** Set out for the interior to carry his voice and to "read in the face of the countryside" the mystery of what had happened. The first village was Kumarhar near Patna where he was deeply moved by the sight of the ruins.

**March 13.** Visited the ruined villages of Parsa and Sipara. Received donations with regret letters signed by villagers saying, "Please forgive



us for our great sins. We feel ashamed for the loss of life which our Muslim brethren have suffered at our hands.”

**March 15.** At Phulwari Sharif he received members of Muslim League Relief Committee and advised them to ask the Muslims to return to their homes if they had faith in him.

Courtesy call on the Governor, Sir Hugh Dow.

Had a meeting with refugees at Masaurhi.

**March 17.** In letter to Governor said the ministers totally refuted all the imputations laid at their doors. They were prepared to accept Governor's advice though they had differences with him.

Collected money for Muslim sufferers.

**March 20.** Returned to Masaurhi after visiting a few devastated villages. He urged the people to rebuild what they had destroyed.

**March 21.** Announced at a prayer meeting that he considered East Bengal and Bihar as one single problem and that he was not likely to return to Noakhali. He said that fifty persons had confessed their guilt and were ready to face the consequences.

**March 22.** Summarising his tour experiences so far, he said the villagers were not only penitent for what had happened but were also willing to atone for the past in any manner which he would suggest.

**March 23.** Was told by Muslim League members that his coming to Bihar had inspired confidence in the Muslims.

**March 25.** At Bankipore Maidan meeting devoted his speech to a message to the Hindus of Noakhali to live like brave people and not to be cowards.

**March 27.** Visiting several places in Gaya District, said at Jehanabad that he regretted the use of British troops to suppress the police meeting in connection with police strike in Bihar. He said that essential services like scavengers and the police should not strike work.

Referring to the new Viceroy's statement about British withdrawal from India, said it was his "dharma" to trust British honesty.

**March 28.** At Allahganj (Gaya) announced to a post-prayer gathering that he would be going to Delhi for three or four days in response to Lord Mountbatten's invitation. He was determined to stay in Bihar and see to the work already taken up.

**March 31.** Met Lord Mountbatten for the first time and had cordial talks for two and a quarter hours.

**April 1.** Had second round of talks with Lord Mountbatten regarding problems of India's independence. Gandhiji proposed an all-Muslim administration and said that he was sincere in his proposal.

Attended Inter-Asian Relations Conference in Delhi and in reply to a question said : "I will not like to live in this world if it is not to be one world."

**April 2.** Addressing the Inter-Asian Relations Conference said : "What I want you to understand is the message of Asia. If you want to give a message to the West, it must be a message of love and truth."

**April 5.** Draft agreement dictated by Gandhiji included : (1) Jinnah to be given option to form a cabinet (2) Selection to be entirely left to Jinnah (3) If Jinnah accepted it Congress would co-operate fully and sincerely (4) Sole referee in all matters to be Lord Mountbatten (5) Jinnah must stipulate that he would do utmost to preserve peace throughout India.

**April 7.** Wrote to Lord Mountbatten that Noakhali had been calling him



again as there had been increasing lawlessness. He might go to Punjab to study the situation there.

**April 12.** Wrote to Mountbatten that his own plan was not acceptable to Congress and so he was personally handing over all negotiations to Congress Working Committee.

**April 14.** Viceroy's plan on the eve of the Governors' conference was as follows :

- (1) that responsibility of partition, if it comes, is to rest fairly upon the Indians.
- (2) the provinces generally shall have the right to determine their own future.
- (3) Bengal & the Punjab to be nominally partitioned for voting purposes.
- (4) Sylhet Dist. to be given option of joining Moslem province of Bengal.
- (5) General elections to be held in N.W.F.P.

**April 15.** On return to Patna from Delhi, hinted at the possibility of undertaking a fast if reports of recrudescence of trouble in Noakhali proved correct.

Regarding his negotiation with the Viceroy in New Delhi said that the Viceroy had declared both in public and private conversations that he was going to be the last Viceroy of India, that also up to 30th June, 1948, and Gandhiji felt that the Viceroy was honest in his profession.

In a joint appeal with Jinnah, issued on Viceroy's initiative, denounced violence, saying among other things : "We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends, and we call upon all communities in India, to whatever profession they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder but also to avoid both in speech and writing any incitement to such acts."

Urged the Hindus of Bihar, in his post-prayer speech at Patna, to set up an ideal before them so that Muslims in other parts of India should feel like coming to Bihar to live.

**April 16.** Referring to his joint appeal with Jinnah, already issued, said he had accepted a tremendous responsibility that had come down upon his shoulders as representative of all sections of the people, adding that an equally great responsibility had fallen upon Jinnah.

**April 17.** In prayer meeting said power in the hands of *kisans* and labourers does not mean that they should use force and attack the lives and properties of zamindars. He urged them to conquer the landlords with love. He brushed aside the suggestions of some Muslims that they should be armed with rifles and guns.

**April 18.** At Patna prayer meeting, he advised the zamindars to adjust themselves to changing times, look after the welfare of the *kisans* and not take anything more than what was absolutely necessary.

**April 19.** Declared at Patna, "Bihar holds the key to the solution not only of the problems facing India today in human relationship but the whole world, as I am engaged upon a work which is far more important than I undertook in Champaran."

**April 20** He began his prayer speech with the declaration, "If I were the Prime Minister of your province, I would have told the people that no one can have a single piece of cloth manufactured by cloth mills." He reiterated his message on *khadi* with reference to Charkha Sangh meeting which he had been attending.



**April 21.** "The age when men dominated over women has gone, and now if men and women are to be paid for *khadi*, then the wages must be the same", said Gandhiji in his post-prayer speech.

**April 22.** Explained to prayer meeting that Nai Talim aimed at the evolution of mental and spiritual qualities of the children through handicrafts. The All-India Nai Talim Sangh was meeting at Patna at the time.

**April 23.** At his daily prayer-speech, commended basic training which would make the Indian people self-reliant.

**April 28.** Declared in a written speech at the prayer meeting, as it was his silence day, that he would be going to Delhi again on April 30 morning on an urgent call from Pandit Nehru and the Congress President Kripalani to attend Congress Working Committee meeting. He did not want to leave Bihar till the Muslims felt secure.

**April 29.** He expressed satisfaction that confidence was returning among Bihar Muslims and hoped that if the good work continued and the Muslims felt quite safe there, it would go a long way towards bringing sanity to those parts of India where communal strife was raging.

**May 2.** Abandoned prayer meeting because a member of the audience objected to the recitation of a verse from the Quran.

**May 4.** Had an hour and a half's talk with the Viceroy in Delhi during which the latter complained against misleading reports in newspapers. The Viceroy had said that all signs of British rule in India would vanish by 30th June, 1948.

**May 6.** Gandhi-Jinnah meeting in Delhi at Jinnah's residence lasted for three hours. The agreed statement issued from Jinnah's house said, "We discussed two matters. One was the question of division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan and Mr. Gandhi does not accept the principles of division. He thinks division is not inevitable, whereas in my opinion not only is Pakistan inevitable but the only practical solution." "The second matter discussed by us was the letter which we both have signed jointly appealing to people to maintain peace.... We will make every effort for the purpose."

Met Jinnah again for talks.

**May 7.** Referring to his visit to Jinnah the previous day, said at prayer meeting that the talks were held in a friendly spirit although there could never be any agreement between them on the question of division of India. He could not bear the thought of it and, so long he was convinced it was wrong, he could not possibly put his signature to the scheme. Left for Calcutta.

**May 9.** In his post-prayer speech said he had not expected to come to Calcutta but when he had received reports from friends about events there, he thought he should go there and put in his work in pursuit of the same object that had taken him to Noakhali and Bihar.

**May 11.** Received Shaheed Suhrawardy at Sodepur Ashram.

**May 13.** Told the demonstrators that he could only offer advice which they could accept or reject. Therefore, if Bengal was divided or united, it would be their work.

**May 14.** Told prayer meeting that he was leaving for Patna and then proceeding to Delhi and hoped to return to Calcutta after his work in Delhi was finished. Earlier visited disturbed areas of city with Bengal Premier.



**May 16.** Emphasised that rehabilitation work was not charity but a matter of duty.

**May 18.** Lord Mountbatten left for London for consultation with British Government.

**May 21.** In parting message to Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker on the eve of their return to South Africa, Gandhiji said that Field Marshal Smuts was a trustee of Western Civilization. He still clung to the hope that Smuts would not sustain it on the suppression of Asiatics and Africans. At prayer gathering he warned the Congressmen in power to see and ponder over the rot that was setting in. A Congressman, he opined, was a servant of the people, not a ruler.

**May 23.** Announced at a meeting that the Bihar Government was drawing up an agrarian plan in which zamindar would act as the trustees of their land.

**May 24.** Left Patna for Delhi.

**May 25.** Reached Delhi. Had talks with the Chinese Ambassador who came with Pandit Nehru.

**May 31.** Lord Mountbatten returned from London to Delhi.

**June 1.** The Congress High Command was almost in favour of accepting partition on the understanding that by conceding Pakistan to Jinnah they would hear no more of him, but Gandhiji refused to align himself with the proposal.

**June 2.** Leaders' meeting was held in Viceroy's house. Nehru said that while there could never be a complete approval of the plan by Congress, on balance they accepted it.

At 12·30 in the night, Mahatma Gandhi met the Viceroy. It being his silence day, he did not speak but gave answers in writing.

Giving his reactions at a meeting of the Working Committee, Gandhiji said though he did not agree with the decisions of the Working Committee regarding the division of India, he did not want to stand in the way of the Committee in implementing its previous decision.

**June 3.** Congress President Kripalani while making certain reservations conveyed in letter to Viceroy a firm general acceptance of the British Government's plan for the partition of India and the transfer of power. Mahatmaji was critical of the Congress decision.

The same night Lord Mountbatten announced the Plan over All India Radio. Nehru, Jinnah and Sardar Baldev Singh also spoke on the air explaining the partition plan.

**June 4.** At the Working Committee meeting, Gandhiji expressed his views as to how Congress should work after the acceptance of the British plan and overcome the difficulties that the Congress might have to face in future.

The Viceroy met Gandhiji in the Harijan Colony. At the prayer meeting in the evening Gandhiji said: "The British Government is not responsible for partition. The Viceroy has no hand in it. In fact he is as opposed to partition as Congress itself but if both of us Hindus and Moslems—cannot agree on anything else, then the Viceroy is left with no choice."

**June 6.** After return from the Viceroy's House, where he was invited for talks, declared at the prayer meeting that the British had now decided probably to withdraw by August 15. He added, now that Jinnah had got what he wanted, it was upto him to indicate the shape of Pakis-



and make it attractive in word and action.

Gandhiji might differ from the Congress Working Committee, but having stated the fact, he would recommend their decision for acceptance by A.I.C.C.

**June 13.** In post-prayer speech criticised the attitude of C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Diwan of Travancore, for banning State People's Congress and proposing to declare Travancore State independent on August 16. The rulers had the right to exist only if they became servants and trustees of the people. He appealed to the Princes to come to the Constituent Assembly of India.

**June 14.** A.I.C.C. met in Delhi and passed a resolution accepting 3rd June plan as announced by Viceroy.

In another letter to the Viceroy, Gandhiji urged quick formation of a homogeneous cabinet at the centre.

At the A.I.C.C. meeting he said, "India is at the threshold of independence. Hyderabad and Travancore are talking of independence. Such talks are in vain.... I congratulate the majority of the States who have joined the Constituent Assembly".

**June 18.** Met Jinnah with Badshah Khan at the Viceroy's House to find some means of avoiding bloodshed in N.W.F.P.

**June 21.** Visited Hardwar with Pandit Nehru and inspected Refugee Camps.

**Before July 4.** Gandhiji and Congress leaders were shown by Lord Mountbatten the draft of the Indian Independence Bill to be moved in British Parliament on July 4.

**July 4.** Explained in his prayer meeting in Delhi that Dominion Status was offered in order to anticipate the final date of withdrawal of British Rule.

**July 6.** Expressed the hope that the referendum in the Frontier would be without violence.

**Before July 10.** In a letter to Kanu Gandhi who was in Noakhali said, "My body is here, but my heart is in Noakhali."

**July 15.** Indian Independence Bill was passed by the House of Commons and the following day the House of Lords voted it.

**July 18.** The Bill received Royal Assent.

Partition Council with Lord Mountbatten was set up and in accordance with 3rd June plan two boundary commissions were formed.

Referring to *Dawn's* open letter to him, said he still adhered to his statement that Jinnah's assurance about the protection of minorities in Pakistan would be judged by the deeds of the Muslims in Pakistan. He had said the same to the Viceroy and the Congress ministers.

**July 27.** Drew attention of the people to the conference of Princes recently held at Viceroy's house and advised the rulers to join one or the other dominion rather than remain in isolation.

**July 29.** Informed the audience at his prayer meeting that he was leaving for Kashmir the following day as a matter of duty to fulfil the promise made to Nehru.

**July 30.** Started for Kashmir at night.

**July 31.** Reached Rawalpindi where he held a brief prayer meeting. He said he wanted to visit Punjab but he could not do so as he had no time at his disposal and wanted to reach Noakhali before 15th August.

**August 1.** Reached Srinagar in the evening. He told visitors that he could



not ask for Sheikh Abdulla's release as a *satyagrahi's* mere stay in jail was a most potent force to achieve his objective. Met the Maharaja, Maharani and Prime Minister Kak.

**August 4.** Reached Jammu and met deputations of workers and students. As to the question whether Kashmir should join Indian Union or Pakistan he replied it should be decided by the will of the Kashmiris.

**August 5.** Motored *via* Rawalpindi and went to Wah camp to spend some time with the refugees there. Addressing the post-prayer gathering there said that he was glad to visit the refugee camp and also Panja Saheb. He said that on 15th August, with the advent of freedom, legally the State of Jammu and Kashmir would be independent when British paramountcy would terminate. But the State must join either India or Pakistan soon after.

**August 6.** Reached Lahore on way to Patna.

**August 8.** Left Patna for Calcutta. Earlier he announced at a meeting that he would be returning to Bihar for some days after staying for two weeks in Noakhali.

**August 9.** Reaching Calcutta in the morning, stayed at Sodepur Ashram; called on Bengal Governor Sir Fredrick Burrows in the afternoon, accompanied by Dr. P.C. Ghosh, Prime Minister of Bengal. Announced at prayer meeting that he would leave for Noakhali on Monday. If it was true that the Muslims were living in terror it was a reflection on the Congress Ministry.

**August 10.** As the situation in Calcutta was worrying Gandhiji he decided to stay on at Sodepur for a few days more but intended to reach Noakhali before 15th August. He said that the Muslims had requested him to visit the disturbed areas of the city.

**August 12.** Cancelled his Noakhali programme for the time being and decided to shift to a riot-torn area of Calcutta in Beliaghata. He added he would embark on a peace mission in the city with H. S. Suhrawardy and both would live under the same roof during the period. He urged all to abide by the decision of the Boundary Commission to be announced in a few days.

**August 13.** Gandhiji and others of his party who were staying in Nawab Abdul Gani's house in Beliaghata were given a hostile reception.

Lord Mountbatten flew to Karachi and announced birth of Pakistan from next day but officially it became a dominion with effect from 15th August.

**August 14.** At night the Constituent Assembly met when Nehru announced "At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom."

Many people both Hindus and Muslims, visited the place, where Gandhiji was staying. In his prayer meeting he advised the people to observe August 15 by fasting and prayers for the well-being of India as a whole. He was of the opinion that if Calcutta returned to sanity and mutual friendship, Noakhali and the rest of India would be safe.

**August 15.** In the morning Lord Mountbatten was sworn in as Governor-General of India. Nehru, Prime Minister, and other members of the Cabinet were also sworn into office by the Governor-General.

Mahatmaji's residence in Beliaghata turned into a place of pilgrimage when streams of people came to pay their respects to him. He made



a tour of Calcutta at night to know how the city was observing independence and also how the communities were fraternising.

**August 17.** At Narkeldanga, a suburb of Calcutta, he pleaded for proper steps so that the friendly feeling now prevailing between the two communities would become permanent.

**August 18.** Addressed big Hindu-Muslim gathering in Calcutta Maidan and again asked the nation to mould their ties on love and affection for each other.

**August 20.** Met Calcutta press representatives at his Beliaghata residence and urged them to take full advantage of the goodwill generated by Hindu-Muslim union. He urged the Central Peace Committee to consolidate the results achieved so far.

**August 21.** At a meeting in Park Circus urged the parties and the public to abide loyally by the award of the Boundary Commission. At women's meeting advised them to be fully alive to their responsibility for social reforms.

**August 23.** At a meeting at Alipore made an appeal for restoration of communal peace and harmony in the Punjab. Met Sikh and Hindu deputations from the Punjab.

**August 24.** Replying to a civic reception by the Calcutta Corporation, pointed to the lack of sanitation in the city and said he could not be satisfied till Calcutta had become the premier city in the world in sanitation.

**August 25.** At Howrah Maidan, in a written message, called upon West Bengal Hindus to shed all malice towards Muslims. He expressed inability to go to Sylhet from where he had received frantic telegrams about the serious riots there. He would, of course, hasten to the Punjab as soon as possible.

**August 27.** At a meeting of labourers in Matiaburz he urged that there should be no distinction between Hindu and Muslim labourers.

**August 28.** Referring to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, paid tribute to him saying that he had infused into the Azad Hind Fauj belonging to all religions the spirit of willing discipline and obedience. Advised students to observe discipline.

**August 31.** Attended a Hindu-Muslim unity function at the Grand Hotel organised by the Muslims.

**September 1.** Following recrudescence of trouble in the city, began a fast at 8.15 P. M. "to end only if and when sanity returns to Calcutta" He learnt that some of the places which had been safe so far had suddenly become unsafe. He saw two dead bodies of Muslims. A Hindu youth who was assaulted was brought before Gandhiji and the agitated crowd started breaking glass panes and hurled a *lathi* which missed him. The police had to use tear gas to disperse the crowd.

**September 2.** Told Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee that he would give up fast as soon as the condition of the city was reported to him as normal.

**September 4.** Broke his fast at 9.15 p.m. after the leaders of various parties had signed and handed over to him a document reporting that peace and quiet had again been restored in Calcutta and promising they would never allow communal strife in the city.

**September 5.** In a message to the young men urged them "to act as peace squads without arms". He added that if communal fighting again broke out in Calcutta he might have to go on an irrevocable fast.



**September 6.** Addressing a vast congregation of Hindus and Muslims on the Calcutta Maidan he emphasised the need of maintaining peace in Calcutta and the country as a whole. He referred to the surrender of arms to him by a number of young men and hoped that the good example would be copied by all.

Referring to the martyrdom of Sachin Mitra and Smritish Banerjee (which occurred on 3rd September in the course of their peace mission) said such innocent deaths should bind the communities together.

**September 7.** After a month's stay in Calcutta left for Delhi on his proposed visit to the Punjab. In his parting message said that during the last few days the 'Shanti Sena' had been doing excellent work. Earlier in the day visited Gobar Leper Hospital.

**September 9.** The prayer meeting at Birla House which was held after his arrival in Delhi was attended by few persons owing to curfew in the city. Visited the Meo Refugee Camp near Humayun's Tomb.

**September 12.** Began his prayer speech by expressing infinite sorrow at the disturbing news that was coming from the Frontier Province also. Appealed to the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Muslims to forget the past, extend the hand of fellowship to each other and resolve to live in peace.

**September 13.** Visited the refugee camp in the Old Fort and appealed to all to trust the Government.

**September 14.** Visited two other refugee camps in Delhi. He declared that he was in Delhi to 'do or die.'

**September 18.** Said at prayer meeting that he wanted to proceed to West Punjab in order to make the Muslims undo the wrong they were said to have perpetrated there. But could not hope for success unless he secured justice for the Muslims of Delhi.

**September 23.** Met at Birla House deputation of Hindus and Sikhs from Rawalpindi and Dera Gazi Khan.

**September 24.** Referring to Junagadh said he had no doubt that the State would not stand aloof from the other states of Kathiawad. Answering questions said he did not propose that the Indian Union Government should ignore the ill-treatment of the Hindus in Pakistan and they were bound to do their utmost to save them. But the answer was not to drive away the Muslims. Only those who wanted to go away to Pakistan should be safely conducted to the border. Those who stayed on were to be given protection.

**September 28.** Deplored Vincent Churchill's remarks about the incidents as over-hasty, saying he had done a great disservice to the nation of which he was a great servant.

**September 29.** Refuted reports from the West that he had seen the possibility of war between the two dominions.

**September 30.** Said the best way to save the minorities in Pakistan was that Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and his ministers should inspire the minorities with confidence as to their safety.

**October 1.** Addressed a meeting of Delhi citizens. In reply to questions he agreed that those who wished to live in India must be loyal to the Union whatever might be their faith and they must voluntarily surrender unlicensed arms. It was for the Government to secure justice for the Muslims in India as it was for the Government in Pakistan to secure justice for the minorities there.

**October 2.** Streams of visitors, including Lord and Lady Mountbatten and



- persons from foreign embassies, greeted him on his birthday. He said that he could not live while hatred and killings marred the atmosphere.
- October 4.** In his after-prayer speech he drew the attention of his hearers to the approaching cold weather and appealed to all who could afford it to donate warm blankets and quilts for the refugees. Criticising Churchill's remarks again asked the audience to falsify Churchill's forebodings.
- October 6.** Expressed hope that Dr. Rajendra Prasad's efforts for a solution of the food crisis would succeed.
- October 9.** Urged donation of blankets.
- October 14.** Announced that he had been receiving more blankets from day to day. The *Charge d' Affaires* of Iran and his wife brought a large number of blankets to him.
- October 16.** During his prayer speech at Birla House asked the East Bengal minorities to stay in their homes and face death rather than dishonour or loss of self-respect.
- October 18.** Speaking on *satyagraha* in South Africa said that a handful of *satyagrahis* was enough to vindicate the honour of India.
- After October 19.** At the prayer meetings held daily at Birla House, gave expression to his views about the situation both in India and Pakistan.
- October 26.** Remarked that if reports in newspapers were correct, the happenings in Kashmir were certainly bad. The charge was that the Government of Pakistan was coercing Kashmir to join Pakistan. Nobody could coerce Kashmiris to do it. Similar was the case of Hyderabad people and little Junagadh.
- October 27.** Referring to complaints that Muslims were being forced to leave their ancestral homes in the Indian Union and migrate to Pakistan, he said he was sure that was not the policy of the Central Cabinet and the public should refrain from taking the law into their hands.
- October 29.** Referring to the Kashmir situation after prayers said that when the Maharaja in his distress wished to accede to the Indian Union, the Governor-General could not reject it. He praised the Maharaja for appointing Sheikh Abdullah as his minister.
- November 2.** Referring to Kashmir again said that he could not escape the conclusion that the Pakistan Government was directly encouraging the raiders in Kashmir. He defended the action of Pandit Nehru's Government in sending aid to stricken Kashmir.
- November 3.** Advocated removal of all food controls, but not cloth control for the time being.
- November 7.** Visited the Muslims living in Tehar village.
- November 8.** Referred to Lady Mountbatten's visit to him and said she was constantly on the move in both the Dominions, the refugees in various camps and saw the sick and suffering people.
- November 9.** In an article in *Harijan*, remarked that there was a gross disparity between the highest and lowest salaries paid to their servants by our Governments.
- November 10.** In the evening prayer meeting said that he was satisfied that the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Junagadh were party to the State's accession to the Indian Union. Referred to his visit to Panipat with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.
- November 12.** Broadcast to the Kurukshetra Camp refugees, numbering over two lakhs. The best way to celebrate Diwali (which fell on this date) was by service. He did not want any illuminations.



**November 27.** In the after-prayer speech told the audience that he had been to see the Governor-General and had met Liaquat Ali Khan there. He learnt that the Governor-General, the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions, Sardar Patel and the Finance Minister had conferred together and come to some conclusions which might bring peace to the strife-torn country.

Attended a meeting of Sikhs on Guru Nanak's birthday and addressed the gathering.

**November 29.** Told his audience that Muslim, Hindu and Sikh girls who had been abducted should be delivered from captivity.

**December 2.** Visited Panipat to dissuade Muslim refugees from migrating to Pakistan.

**December 4.** Received the Prime Minister of Burma who had come on a visit.

Told the prayer audience that he was making no appointments from 6th to 13th December because of meetings of the Kasturba Trust, the Talimi Sangh, the Charkha Sangh and the All-India Village Industries Association, which he intended to attend.

**December 6.** Declared that he had made Delhi a test case. If he failed here, he could not hope for success elsewhere.

**December 9.** Addressing a meeting in Gurgaon said that what had taken place there was, in his opinion, unmitigated barbarism. He had no other message but the message of non-violence to give to meet the challenge of brute force.

**December 16.** Dwelt upon the good results of decontrol on commodity prices, including foodgrains.

**December 18.** Told his audience that although English was an international language it could not become the national language of India. Hindustani, a happy blending of Hindi and Urdu, should be the national language of India.

**December 20.** Expressed sorrow at the recrudescence of trouble in Delhi although it was on a small scale. The way to deal with bad men was to reform them, not to turn them out or kill them, he said.

**December 25.** In his post-prayer speech talked about Kashmir.

**December 26.** Talked about Tibbia College at Delhi and asked all to consider it as a great national organisation, as both Muslim and non-Muslim students received education there.

**December 27.** Addressed a meeting in a village near Delhi where a *Panchayatghar* had been built.

**December 28.** Told the prayer meeting that he was receiving telegrams and letters congratulating him on the removal of controls. It had had a miraculous effect all round and prices had gone down. He deplored that although the Salt Tax had gone, salt had become more expensive. He thought the people should be taught to prepare salt wherever they could.

Addressed a meeting of businessmen of Delhi at Hardinge Library and told them he agreed that control of prices was unsuitable for India. The reason for control was the fear of dishonesty and profiteering. He advised them to be one hundred per cent honest.

**December 29.** Referring to Kashmir again said the Instrument of Accession stood as it was. If conferred or reserved certain rights on or for the



ruler. He, as a private individual, had ventured to advise that the Maharaja should waive or diminish the rights.

**December 30.** Referring to Bahawalpur State reiterated his stand that Hindus and Sikhs who wanted to go out should be freely allowed to do so. He welcomed the declaration of the Nawab of Bahawalpur to treat Hindus and Muslims alike. His advice to Hindus and Sikhs similarly could be applied to Sind too.

**December 31.** Affirmed in his post-prayer speech that there could be no return of refugees without change of heart. Unless the Dominions turned a new leaf, both were doomed. The trouble had no doubt started in Pakistan but some parts of the Indian Union had resorted to retaliation. He was against exchange of population. So he could not envisage real peace without the parties returning to their homes.

## 1948

**January 1.** In his post-prayer speech dwelt on the Harijans' welfare and said that abstinence from intoxicants would materially enhance the physical and mental strength of the workers. Government should, therefore, implement the pledge to enforce prohibition and be prepared to renounce tainted revenue.

**January 2.** Remarked in post-prayer address that continuance of communal hatred which led to bloodshed and migration on a colossal scale would only result in perpetuation of the division of India and the eventual destruction of the Dominions.

**January 3.** Held prayers at the Wavell Canteen and expressed pleasure at being able to fulfil an old engagement and addressed the refugees of the camp.

**January 4.** In post-prayer address said he was amazed to see that the Government of Pakistan disputed the veracity of Indian Union's representation to the UNO that Pakistan had a hand in the invasion of Kashmir. A war would bring both the Dominions under the sway of a third power. He, therefore, pleaded for amity and goodwill which would enable the Indian representation to be withdrawn from the UNO with dignity.

**January 6.** Referred to proposed strikes in Bombay and considered them harmful.

**January 7.** Referring to proposed strike by students he said he considered it to be wrong and advised them to give it up. Expressed his sorrow over the happenings in Sind where not only the Hindus and the Sikhs but other non-Muslims also were not safe. His advice to the Pakistan and Indian Union Governments was that if they were powerless to prevent the disturbances they should resign.

**January 8.** Received deputations from Bahawalpur and Mirpur in the presence of Pandit Nehru.

**January 9.** Appealed to the people to maintain peace in the Capital.

**January 10.** Referred to his meeting with the Ambassador of Persia who said that India was the biggest power in Asia and they felt great in India's greatness. The Ambassador was anxious that the relation between India and Persia should not be strained, Gandhiji told his audience.

**January 11.** Urged nationalists not to mix religion with politics. They were Indians first and last in all secular matters, and religion was a personal affair.



**January 12.** He reminded his audience that when he had come to Delhi on 9th September from Calcutta, he wanted to proceed to West Punjab. But that was not to be. He felt that he was to be in Delhi to do or die, in view of disturbances in the Capital. He yearned for heart-to-heart friendship between the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims.

Fasting was his last resort. He did not want to feel resourceless, a *satyagrahi* never should. The final conclusion, he announced, had flashed upon him and he had decided to undertake a fast again which would begin with the first meal next day. The period would be indefinite and it would end when and if he was satisfied that there was a reunion of hearts of all the communities, brought about without any outside pressure, from an awakened sense of duty.

**January 13.** Undertook fast after first meal. Attended evening prayer meeting as usual. He blamed no individual or community for his having to undertake the fast. If Delhi would become peaceful in the real sense, he said, he would break his fast.

**January 14.** Dictated a message to be read out to the prayer gathering but later decided to attend the prayer meeting and address it himself. Condemned the cowardly attack on the Sikhs in Karachi. News had come, he said, of an attack on a refugee train in Gujarat (West Pakistan) carrying non-Muslims from N.W.F.P. Pakistan, he said, must put a stop to that state of affairs.

**January 15.** Dictated a statement urging the Indian Union Government to transfer to the Government of Pakistan Rs. 55 crores which was Pakistan's share in the finances of pre-partition India. A radio microphone was arranged near his bed. He denied that his fast was in condemnation of the policy of the Home Ministry. He further explained that his fast was undoubtedly on behalf of the Muslim minority of the Indian Union and, therefore, against the Hindus and Sikhs of the Union and against the Muslims of Pakistan.

**January 16.** He had been occupying a cot in Birla House. His eyes were closed and he appeared to be asleep or half-conscious. An endless queue filed past his feet. Indians and foreigners were moved to pity as they observed him. Acute pain was written on his face. His pulse was irregular. He addressed the prayer meeting for two minutes over the microphone. This was followed by an announcement that the Government of India was transferring to Pakistan Rs. 55 crores. Addressing the audience from his bed through the microphone, Gandhiji said that if Delhi became truly peaceful it would have its effect all over the country. He had no wish to live unless peace reigned in the two dominions. He further said that the gesture of the Government of India was one of unmingled goodwill. It had put the Pakistan Government on its honour. Friendship should replace enmity.

**January 17** Suffered nausea and restlessness.

**January 18** Was feeling better. Representatives of all important groups and organisations in the city including refugees put their signatures to a seven-point declaration covering the conditions laid down by Gandhiji. They then went to Gandhiji's room to request him to break the fast. Gandhiji summoned the Prime Minister who was also fasting in sympathy, and the latter witnessed giving of the pledge by the leaders and breaking of fast by Gandhiji.

Pakistan's High Commissioner was also present.



After the leaders had given their pledge Gandhiji broke his six-day fast, the last in his life, by taking a glass of fruit juice handed over to him by Maulana Azad.

**January 20.** A bomb exploded near his prayer meeting at the Birla House; but none was hurt. The culprit was arrested.

For three days after the end of the fast, Gandhiji was so weak that he had to be carried to the prayer ground in the Birla House. In his post-prayer address said he was sorry to hear that an official of the Hindu Mahasabha had repudiated the pledge. He emphasised that if only Delhi and the refugees in the Capital would remain steadfast, they would save India and also Pakistan.

**January 21.** Referred to previous day's bomb explosion and said no one should look down upon the misguided youth who had thrown the bomb.

**January 22.** Walked to the prayer ground for the first time after the fast. Expressed his wish to visit Sevagram.

Had talks with the Burmese envoy who called on him.

**January 25.** Lent his support to linguistic division of provinces with a caution that it should not militate against the organic unity of India.

**January 27.** Attended prayer meeting as usual.

In an article for the *Harijan* advised the Congress to do away with its special register of members. The register should now be co-extensive with all the men and women on the voters' rolls in the country.

Visited Dargah Sharif at Mehrauli. He was glad to find both the Hindus and the Muslims at the Urs celebrations there.

**January 27 and 28.** Attended prayer meeting in the evening as usual. Gave interviews to several Americans. Vincent Sheean conferred with him for two days after usual prayer meetings at the Birla House.

Met the Nizam's Agent.

Congress leaders met him in connection with his proposal to revise Congress constitution.

**January 29.** Referred at the prayer meeting to a deputation of refugees from Bannu and to the food situation in Madras.

Wrote a post card to Shri Kishorelal suggesting that he might be at Sevagram from 3rd to 12th February next.

**January 30.** Early in the morning he said to Biswan, his personal attendant, "Bring me all my important letters. I must reply to them today, for tomorrow I may never be."

In the forenoon, Acharya Jugal Kishore and Shri Shanker Rao Deo met Gandhiji at Birla House to get a typed copy of his draft about the future of the Congress.

The document recommended dissolution of the Congress party and the formation of a Lok Sevak Sangh. A discussion was to follow but could never take place.

Margaret Burkewhite, the American photographer, interviewed him. He told her he believed that even the atom bomb should be met with non-violence.

At 4.30 p.m., Abha brought in the last meal he was ever to take. He was talking to Sardar Patel and Mani Behn was present. The talk concerned rumours of differences between Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru. He wrote out a slip of paper to be handed over to Pandit Nehru, emphasising the need to close up the differences in the interest of the nation.

"I must tear myself away," he remarked at about 5 p.m; he rose, went



to the adjoining bathroom and then started towards the prayer ground, Abha and Manu accompanying him. He said while walking, "I am late by a few minutes. I hate being late. I should be here at the stroke of five."

The gathering numbered over five hundred. Most of the people rose when he came to the prayer ground. Gandhiji removed his arms from the shoulders of Abha and Manu and touched his palms together in traditional greeting. Just then a man named Nathuram Vinayak Godse elbowed his way out of the congregation into the lane as if he wished to prostrate himself. Manu tried to stop him. He pushed her away so that she fell.

The man fired three shots from an automatic pistol. As the first bullet struck, Gandhiji's foot descended on the ground. With the second bullet, blood began to stain his white clothes, the face turned pale, his hands descended slowly and he murmured, "Hey Rama". The third shot rang out and the limp body settled to the ground. The eyes, half closed, seemed to show signs of life. He was carried inside Birla House. Sardar Patel, who had just left, returned to his side. The doctor came and declared, "Nothing on earth could have saved him". The Mahatma was dead.



## APPENDIX I

### SOURCES

1. *My Experiments with Truth* by Mahatma Gandhi
2. *Mahatma Gandhi—Early Phase* by Pyarelal
3. *Mahatma Gandhi—Last Phase* by Pyarelal
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5. *Mahatma Gandhi As a Student* by J.M. Upadhyaya
6. *My Childhood with Gandhiji* by Prabhudas Gandhi
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11. *Mahatma Gandhi* by H.S.L. Polak, H.N. Brailsford and Lord Pethick Lawrence
12. *Transfer of Power* by V.P. Menon
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16. *Young India*
17. *Harijan*
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## APPENDIX II

### GANDHIJI'S FASTS\*

- 1913, (Phoenix).** Penitential fast for a week for moral lapse of two inmates at Settlement. Took only one meal a day for next four and half months.
- 1914 (Phoenix).** Fourteen days' fast for similar reason.
- 1918, March 12, (Ahmedabad).** Seeing weakness of Ahmedabad strikers Gandhiji declared : "Unless the strikers rally and continue the strike till a settlement is reached or until they leave the mill altogether I will not touch any food." Settlement was reached after three days' fast.
- 1919, April 13, (Sabarmati).** Penitential fast for three days when attempts were made to pull off rails at Nadia. Appealed to people to observe similar fast for a day. Suggested to those who had been guilty of violence to confess.
- 1921, November 9-13, (Bombay).** Five days' fast following rioting and bloodshed on occasion of Prince of Wales' visit.
- 1922, February, second week, (Bardoli).** Five days' fast in connection with Chauri Chaura incident.
- 1924, September 18, (Delhi).** Twenty-one days' fast as a penance for Hindu-Muslim riots and a prayer for unity.
- 1925, November 24, (Sabarmati).** Seven days' fast for lapses among *ashram* inmates.
- 1932, September 20, (Yeravda Prison).** Started at noon "a perpetual and fast unto death, from food of any kind, save water with or without salt and soda" against MacDonald's Award of separate electorates. At 5 p.m. on September 26, Gandhiji was handed a Government communique which satisfied him and he broke the fast.
- 1932, December 22, (Yeravda Prison).** Sympathetic fast with Appasaheb Patwardhan whose request for scavenger's work in jail was refused by the authorities. Within two days an assurance was given and the fast was broken.
- 1933, May 8, (Yeravda Prison).** Self-purificatory fast for 21 days started at 12 noon—"a hearty prayer for purification of myself and my associates for greater vigilance and watchfulness in connection with the Harijan cause." Government released Gandhiji on the same day. Fast concluded on May 29 at 12 noon at "Parnakuti" in Poona.
- 1933, August 16, (Yeravda Prison).** Gandhiji refused facilities granted before release in May. Harijan work was not allowed from inside jail. Started fast on August 20, removed to Sassoon Hospital, still a prisoner. By August 23, his condition was serious and he was released unconditionally.
- 1934, August 7, (Wardha)** An irate reformer attacked an opponent of the Harijan uplift movement with a *lathi*. Gandhiji took to seven days' fast as "penance for intolerance shown by opponents towards one another." Started fast on August 7, at 6 a.m. and broke it on August 14, at 6 a.m.

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\*From *Gandhiji, His Life and Works*, published on his 75th birthday, October 2, 1944, by D. G. Tendulkar and revised later.



- 1939, March 3, (Rajkot).** Gandhiji charged the ruler of Rajkot with breaking solemn pact with people. Started fast at 12 noon. Viceroy suggested with Ruler's assent, arbitration by Chief Justice of India, Sir Maurice Gwyer. Fast was broken at 2.20 p. m. on March 7.
- 1943, February 10, (Aga Khan Palace).** Three weeks' fast in detention—as appeal from Government to God for justice. Started fast after first morning meal and broke it on March 3, at 9.34 a.m.
- 1947, September 1, (Calcutta).** Started fast at 8.15 a.m. for Hindu-Muslim Unity. Broke fast at 9.15 p. m. on September 4.
- 1948, January 13,** Started fast after first meal. Broke fast on January 18, on written assurance given by leaders to maintain communal peace.



## APPENDIX III

### GANDHIJI'S ARRESTS AND IMPRISONMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

**January 10, 1908.** Gandhiji was arrested and brought before a Magistrate for failing either to register or to leave the Transvaal in pursuance of official notice served on him. Gandhiji told the Judge during trial that as a leader he merited heaviest sentence; was sentenced to two months' simple imprisonment.

Taken to Pretoria on January 30, 1908 for meeting General Smuts who assured that the Asiatic Act would be repealed after voluntary registration by Indians. Following the compromise Gandhiji was released the same day.

**October 7, 1908.** While returning from Natal, Gandhiji was unable to show his registration which he had burnt when the terms of earlier compromise were repudiated by the Govt. He also refused to give thumb impression. He was arrested and then sentenced for the second time this year to imprisonment with hard labour for two months.

**February 25, 1909.** Arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for the third time for three months for failure to produce registration certificate and was sent back to Volksrust Prison.

**November 6, 1913.** After that great march with 2,037 men, 127 women and 57 children to Volkrust (Transvaal) to demonstrate against the breach of Botha-Smuts pledge, Gandhiji was arrested at Palmford 8 miles beyond Volksrust; released on bail furnished by Kallenbach.

**November 7, 1913.** Re-arrested at Standerton and released on bail.

**November 9, 1913.** While walking towards the Transvaal at the head of a long column with Polak, Gandhiji was arrested again at Teakworth on Dundee Warrant and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. Brought to trial in Volksrust on November 14, pleaded guilty. Gandhiji was sentenced to further three months' imprisonment in Volksrust (for the last time in South Africa). Released unexpectedly on December 18, at Pretoria.

### IN INDIA

**April 16, 1917.** Gandhiji was served with official notice at Motihari by Superintendent of Police to quit Champaran immediately. On the notice itself Gandhiji wrote that he would disobey the order. He was asked to appear in Court. He pleaded guilty and was released without bail. The case was eventually dropped, marking the first triumph of Civil Disobedience in India.

**April 10, 1919.** Arrested at Palwal Station on his way to Delhi and escorted back to Bombay where he was released on 11th April.

**March 10, 1922.** Arrested at 10.30 in the evening near the Sabarmati Ashram while proceeding in a car. Lodged in Sabarmati Prison; pleaded guilty to charge of sedition for writing three articles in *Young India*. The articles were: 'Tampering with Loyalty' (September 27, 1921),



'A Puzzle and its Solution' (December 15, 1921) and (3) 'Shaking the Manes' (February 22, 1922.) Sentenced to six years' imprisonment by Mr. Justice Broomfield. Released from Yeravda Prison after an operation in Sassoon Hospital on February 5, 1924.

**March 4, 1929.** Arrested in Calcutta for defying Police Commissioner's order and lighting bonfire of foreign cloth at Mirzapur Park. Released on bail the same night and left for tour of Burma next morning. On return was tried in Calcutta and sentenced to pay a fine of Re. 1/- on March 26. Somebody paid the fine without Gandhiji's knowledge and consent.

**May 4-5, 1930.** At 12.45 a.m., arrested at Karadi, a village near Dandi where Gandhiji had broken Salt law on March 5, by the British District Magistrate of Surat under Regulation XXXV of 1827 and removed to Yeravda Prison. There was no trial, no sentence. Unconditionally released on January 26, 1931.

**January, 4 1932.** Arrested at night in Bombay under Bombay Regulation XXXV of 1827 and interned in the Yeravda Prison soon after return to India from England. Released unconditionally by Government at night on September 20, 1932 after he had commenced his 21-day fast.

**July 31/August 1, 1933.** Arrested after midnight by Government under Bombay Special Powers (Emergency) Act, 1932 following his march towards Ras with his followers.

**August 4, 1933.** Released and served with restraint order to quit Yeravda village and reside at Poona. Re-arrested the same day after defying the restraint order and sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

On August 23, Gandhiji was released unconditionally as his condition became serious due to the fast which he had begun on 16th August.

**August 9, 1942.** Arrested in the early hours of the morning under the Defence of India Rules following the 'Quit India' resolution and lodged in the Aga Khan Palace, Poona. Released unconditionally at 8 a. m. on May 6, 1944.















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